

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1923

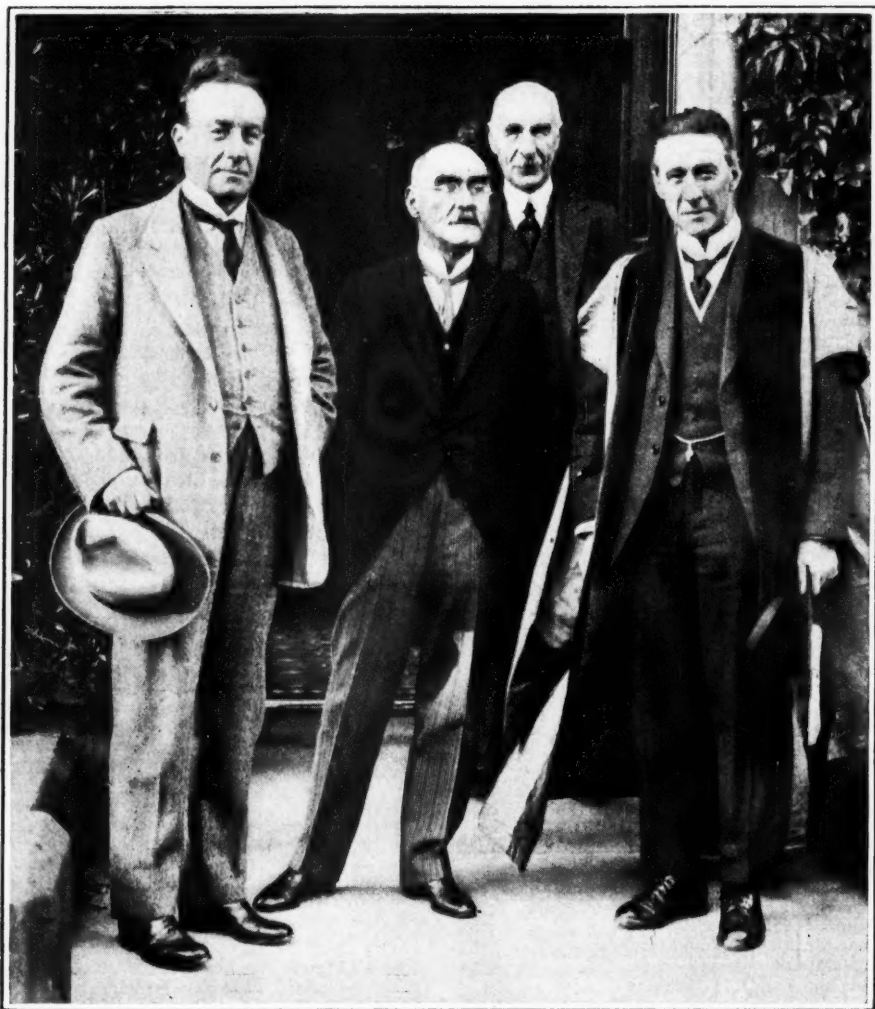
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RUDYARD KIPLING, AS RECTOR OF ST. ANDREW'S UNIVERSITY, SCOTLAND

(The rectorship of St. Andrew's is an honor that is appreciated by men of letters, and Mr. Kipling appropriately succeeds Sir James Barrie. As photographed in our illustration, the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, is at the left, with Mr. Kipling, Dr. Low, and Dr. Irvine next in order. It is interesting to know that Mr. Kipling, who was born and grew up in India, is half Scotch, his mother having been a Macdonald. Most Americans are not aware that Mr. Kipling and Prime Minister Baldwin are cousins. Dr. James Colquhoun Irvine, at the right, has been principal of the University since 1921. He was formerly professor of chemistry and dean of the science faculty. Mr. Kipling's rectorial address, as quoted in the British papers, was both thoughtful and humorous, and we shall doubtless have it soon in book form. Barrie had set a high example in his delightful rectorial address on "Courage" that has been so widely read in the United States. Mr. Kipling's subject was, "The Virtue of Independence," and incidentally he made the amusing remark that, "Tax-gathering is the key industry of Great Britain." Kipling received the Nobel Prize for literature sixteen years ago—which, by the way, has just now been awarded to William Butler Yeats, the Irish poet and playwright. He was born at Bombay, December 30, 1865, and will therefore be fifty-eight years old at the end of the present year. He began literary work in his teens and has been writing steadily for forty years)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*World News
and the
Average Man*

The month of December promises to open with a full program of political news. The Sixty-eighth Congress meets at Washington on Monday, December 3, for its initial session, and President Coolidge will present his first annual message. According to rumors in mid-November, the Hohenzollern conspiracy to seize the reins of power in Germany was to culminate on December 4. An advertised *coup d'état*, of course, does not happen; but something else usually happens in its stead. Thursday, December 6, is the date that was fixed last month for the holding of a general parliamentary election in England, upon the results of which the future economic policies of the kingdom and the empire are to turn. There was a time when the ordinary citizen regarded the public news as something apart from his own affairs. Matters of politics and government were a diversion, but had no place in the day's work of a busy American. Things happening in other countries were of interest to a leisurely person here or there, but to know about them was a mere accomplishment, like speaking a foreign language, rather than one of the essential things. The experiences of the Great War have taught millions of Americans that their private interests are vitally related to the issues of politics and government at home, and to the state of the world at large. This lesson was recited by hundreds of speakers and writers on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of Armistice day.

*Our Congress
in Session*

It has been commonly predicted that the Sixty-eighth Congress would be a stormy and erratic body, not inclined to accept either personal leadership or party de-

cisions. The Republicans still hold nominal majorities in both houses of Congress, but, as our readers will remember, the election of 1922 not only reduced Republican predominance, when compared with the great sweep of 1920, but also strengthened the radical elements in both parties as against the so-called regulars. The Senate, as it assembles for the opening session of the Sixty-eighth Congress, will have fifty-one Republican members, forty-three Democrats, and two men elected on the Farmer-Labor ticket. But the Republican majority includes men who are as independent of party control as Senators LaFollette of Wisconsin, Brookhart of Iowa, Norris and Howell of Nebraska, and Ladd and Frazier of North Dakota. There is no more prospect that these Senators, although officially Republican, will follow the leadership of the Coolidge Administration, than there would have been if they all had been elected as members of an opposition party. Let every Senator speak his mind, if he will only be brief, and not filibuster!

*Our System,
and the
English*

In the House of Representatives, there will be a nominal Republican majority of about seventeen. There are listed 225 Republicans, 205 Democrats, one Socialist, one Independent, and one Farmer-Labor member. This contrasts with a Republican majority of about seventy in the Sixty-seventh Congress, which coincided with the first two years of President Harding's term of office. It is highly improbable that the Republican majority in the House will prove to be sufficiently unified in sentiment for the undivided support of any important measure recommended by President Coolidge. When the English election is held, on the

other hand, the Baldwin ministry will know almost to a man how many members of the House of Commons it can count upon. Under our system, as all citizens should understand, it is not essential—although it may be highly desirable—that there should be general agreement and coöperation between a Republican President and a Republican Congress. Two efficient parties are more to be desired than an irregular congeries of “blocs” and cliques.

*The World
Court, Not Now
an Issue*

As regards foreign policies, it is fortunate that no serious controversies are likely to arise between the Administration and the Senate. It is not to be supposed that President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes will go far beyond a supporting public opinion in the field of exterior relationships. There will continue to be difference of view about our joining the permanent International Court of Justice, but the discussion has become academic. Many Senators are still firmly convinced that such a court should be detached in every way from the League of Nations before America enters into agreements to join in its maintenance. It will be remembered that President Harding, in his St. Louis speech of June 21st, made several suggestions intended to meet senatorial objections. He had previously recommended our adherence to the court as now

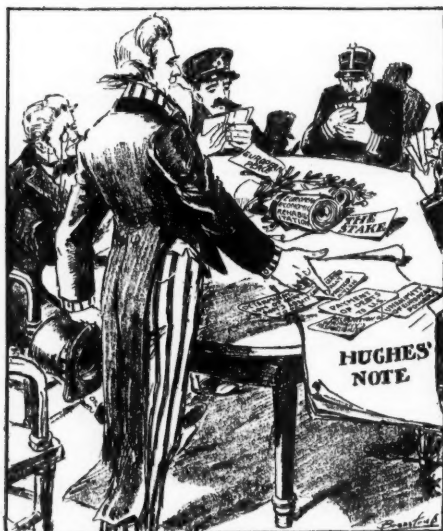
constituted, but had found that the Senate held a different opinion. It is supposed that President Coolidge will follow President Harding in advocating membership in the court, but it seems improbable that the Senate will show any eagerness to take favorable action, or that the Administration will be insistent. Mr. Harding's proposal that the court fill its own vacancies, and thus become a self-perpetuating body, will not secure strong support either in America or elsewhere.

*Methods,
Not Principles,
at Stake*

The creation of machinery for international purposes is to be desired for various reasons. In the first place such machinery has practical uses. Above all, it has psychological value in that it supplies a tangible alternative to militarism. Yet, in so far as the United States is concerned, it would seem better to postpone membership in a League of Nations or in a World Court, rather than to make such membership an issue of heated political controversy here at home. There is no American party or element that is contending for the use of military power as a means of gaining advantages in the world. We have no conquests in mind and no points to win by assertion of force. In our dealings with weak and small nations as well as with strong ones, we are always willing to negotiate amicably and to settle points of remaining disagreement by resort to arbitration. It all turns, therefore, upon questions of method rather than upon underlying principles. Predominance on the seas was within our immediate reach, yet we relinquished it in the Washington Conference in favor of a plan that was meant to establish the principle of maritime equality of rights, and to diminish the danger of naval warfare. In every external situation, our Government has been showing forbearance and good-will, and has been appealing to a growing sense of justice in the world, and to the spirit of law and order.

*American
Standards Not
in Question*

This being true, as regards American policy, it behooves the European nations to make it equally clear that they also are intent upon justice rather than upon the seizure of advantages through the open or the veiled use of sheer force. As matters now stand, whether we belong to the League of Nations or do not belong; and whether we ratify



UNCLE SAM'S CARDS ARE ON THE TABLE

From the Chronicle (San Francisco, Cal.)

the protocols under which the World Court has been formed or prefer to do otherwise, it remains the obvious truth that the American standards of international conduct are higher than those of the nations that are members of these international organizations. It is well to keep in mind this clear, fundamental fact. It is not true that the United States has recently pursued unworthy foreign policies, or has been recreant in any respect. The position taken by this periodical in 1919 was favorable to the ratification of the Versailles Treaty as submitted by President Wilson, either with or without reservations. The deadlock was regrettable, but the country was in any case acting within its rights.

**"Isolation"
a Myth**

There are certain Americans who seemingly do not understand the disadvantages under which we took part in the peace proceedings at Paris, or the nature of the difficulties that were encountered in the contest at Washington over ratification. But European statesmen, diplomatists, and journalists in general show that they do understand; and the so-called "aloofness" or "isolation" of the United States is matter of fault-finding chiefly for political purposes here at home, while there is very little criticism of this precise kind to be found in well-informed circles abroad. Thus, whether or not there should seem to be disagreement between the Coolidge Administration and the Senate regarding our taking direct part in the support and control of the world court, there is not in sight any serious contest over the matter. We shall continue to settle all justiciable issues with foreign governments by friendly diplomacy or by resort to a tribunal of some kind. Litigants in every case before the existing world court meet all the expenses of the action, and we would be under no disadvantage whatever if a case in which we were concerned happened to be referred to that particular tribunal. This line of action—the resort to legal remedies—is fixed in American policy, and has the support of public opinion regardless of party. Those of us who are not able to see any danger whatever in the world court, and in other international organizations for the promotion of peace, will accomplish most by persuasion and patience, and will accomplish least by attacking the position of fellow-citizens who take a different view. There is no state of facts, mean-



UNCLE SAM AND HIS CAUTIOUS OLD GRAND-MOTHERS

[There is no possibility that the United States will get into dangerous international complications with such care as the Senate and the State Department are sure to exercise]
From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)

while, that corresponds to the reproachful charge that we are pursuing a policy of "isolation" in disregard of our duty to a suffering world.

**The Hughes
Plan to Adjust
"Reparations"**

It is expected, in well-informed quarters in Washington, that the recent conversations of Secretary Hughes with the French Government regarding an expert commission to inquire into the ability of Germany to pay for reparations, will be made a topic of debate in the Senate in which lack of Republican agreement will be boldly exhibited. In a speech at New Haven, made a year ago, namely, on December 29, 1922, Mr. Hughes, speaking before the American Historical Association, reviewed our recent achievements in the field of foreign policy. He was dealing in particular with the work of the Washington Conference on limitation of naval armament and questions affecting the Pacific Ocean. But he concluded his speech with certain remarks upon economic conditions in Europe; and these remarks have been taken as the basis of a plan to adjust reparations. "We cannot dispose of these problems," he said, "by calling them European, for they are world problems and we cannot escape the injurious consequences of a failure to settle them." He declared,



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THE FRENCH PREMIER, M. POINCARÉ, ACCOMPANIES THE VISITING PREMIER BENES OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO A CONFERENCE IN PARIS

(This inflexible French leader is supported in his policies by a stronger national sentiment than is behind any other international dictator or statesman of the present day)

however, that they were European problems in the sense that the key to their settlement is in European hands and not in ours. He agreed that the reparations issue must be adjusted before Europe's economic structure could be rebuilt.

*An Expert
Commission*

He did not mince words in setting forth the blamelessness of America's position in respect to financial demands and obligations following the war. He considered that "the first condition of a satisfactory settlement is that the question should be taken out of politics." His analysis led him to the following proposal:

"Why should they not invite men of the highest authority in finance in their respective countries—men of such prestige, experience, and honor, that their agreement upon the amount to be paid, and upon the financial plan for working out the payments, would be accepted throughout the world as the most authoritative expression obtainable? Governments need not bind themselves in advance to accept the recommendations, but they can at least make possible such an inquiry with their ap-

proval, and free the men who may represent their country in such a commission from any responsibility to foreign offices and from any duty to obey political instructions. . . . I have no doubt that distinguished Americans would be willing to serve in such a commission. If Governments saw fit to reject the recommendation upon which such a body agreed, they would be free to do so, but they would have the advantage of impartial advice and of an enlightened public opinion. Peoples would be informed, the question would be rescued from assertion and counterassertion, and the problem put upon its way to solution."

Mr. Hughes proceeded to argue in favor of such a small group of financial experts, as against a general political and diplomatic conference.

*France
Makes
Conditions*

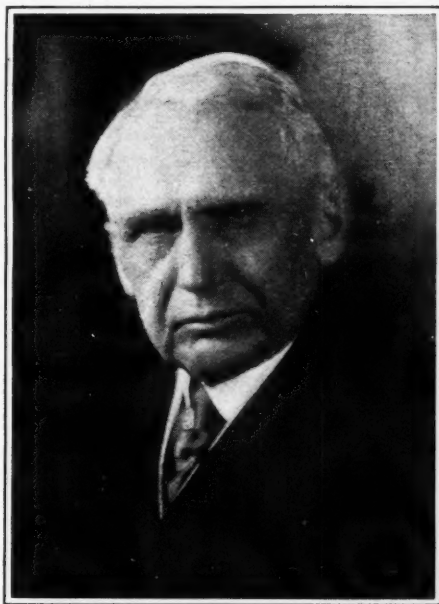
No immediate result followed the suggestions in this address, although it was taken seriously both at home and abroad. Lately, however, as Germany's situation has grown more desperate, and as differences between British and French policy have increased rather than diminished, the plan of a financial commission of experts, with America par-

ticipating, has been taken up in earnest. Mr. Lloyd George urged this in many speeches, during his recent visit to the United States, and in this one respect he seemed to be speaking the mind of the Baldwin ministry. Italy and Belgium came into line with Great Britain, and France was ready to have such a commission inquire into Germany's ability to pay, with certain distinct and limiting provisos. In the first place, France was not willing to have the validity of her position in the Ruhr brought into question. In the second place, she was not giving up in advance any rights and claims regarding German payments that had been agreed upon in the Versailles Treaty. France was willing to have a commission consider methods of payment, and the extent to which it might be necessary to defer the resumption of payments, as due under existing agreements. Finally, the French insisted upon maintaining the full authority of the existing Reparations Commission, and held the view that the new group of financial experts should, in form at least, be regarded as acting in the capacity of advisers to the Commission as now constituted. The inquiry as to Germany's ability to pay could certainly be made by the experts without preliminary surrender by France of any of her treaty rights. Mr. Simonds elsewhere in this issue is discussing these points at length and with careful analysis.



"WE HEARD YOU THE FIRST TIME, LLOYD GEORGE!"

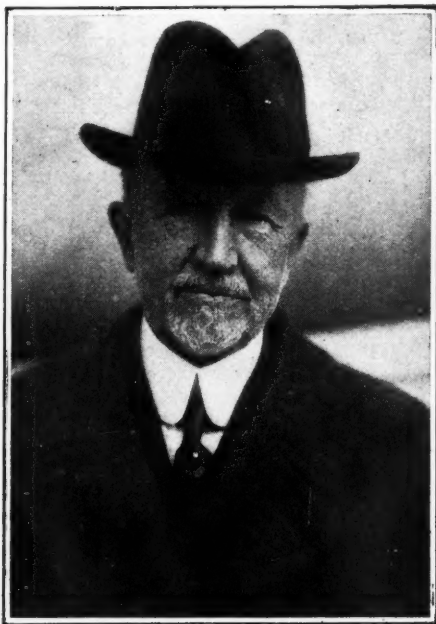
From the *Leader* (Pittsburg, Pa.)



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HON. FRANK B. KELLOGG, OF MINNESOTA, WHO SUCCEEDS MR. HARVEY AS AMERICAN AMBASSADOR AT LONDON

Mr. Kellogg for British Ambassadorship It has also been stated in the news dispatches that the selection by President Coolidge of Hon. Frank B. Kellogg of Minnesota as Mr. Harvey's successor at the Court of St. James's is to be made the occasion of a debate in the Senate and an attempt to defeat Mr. Kellogg's confirmation. Mr. Kellogg has had a long experience in relation to public affairs, although he has not held public office through many of his busy years. Most of his active life has been spent as a member of a prominent law firm, the former head of which, Hon. Cushman K. Davis, was long in the United States Senate and was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Kellogg's recent service in the Senate has familiarized him with current international questions, and he was one of the members of our delegation at the last Pan-American Conference. It was stated in the news that Mr. Root of New York or Mr. Lowden of Illinois might have been named for the British post if willing to accept. Mr. Kellogg is unusually well qualified for the duties of the ambassadorship, and no reason has been given in any quarter that would justify Senatorial opposition to the appointment.



HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, OF MASSACHUSETTS

(Who has now returned from a prolonged European trip, and is quite certain to be continued by the present House of Representatives in the position of Speaker)

Politics and Domestic Issues The pressing questions that will occupy Congress relate to domestic rather than foreign policies. Representatives are acutely aware of the fact that this new session can hardly have adjourned before next summer's presidential conventions are upon us. The primary elections in different States will be succeeding one another rapidly, during the spring months. A new House of Representatives must be elected in November, and not a few Congressmen will now be thinking of their second terms, before they have had an opportunity to take their seats for the first time. Secretary Mellon has come forward with a challenging demand for revision of the tax laws, and has made specific reduction proposals that would save the taxpayers more than \$300,000,000 a year. If there were no elections ahead, and Congress were made up of able men acting on their own judgment, regardless of pressure and clamor, it is impossible to see how the proposals to simplify and reduce taxation could be rejected. But the political atmosphere is wholly unfavorable, though "business" is speaking out.

Prospects of Bonus Legislation

Secretary Mellon warns Congress and the country that taxes cannot be reduced if proposed legislation granting "adjusted compensation" to soldiers in the recent war should be placed upon the statute books. It is understood that the new Congress contains much larger majorities in favor of a bonus law than its predecessor. President Harding, on September 19, 1922, vetoed the bonus bill on the ground that Congress had failed to provide any specific means of raising the additional revenue. It requires a two-thirds vote in each house to enact a measure over the President's veto. The House of Representatives, on September 20, passed the bonus bill over the veto by a vote of 258 to 54; and the Senate on the same date approved it by a vote of 44 to 28, the necessary two-thirds failing by four votes; and thus the veto was effective. The advocates of the bonus claim that if President Coolidge should veto their bill there would now be found the requisite two-thirds majority in each branch of the new Congress; and this opinion is entertained even by those leaders who will vote against the measure. Thus there is very little prospect that the Administration's proposal for reduced taxation will find either house ready to adopt it. Senator Smoot of Utah, who is to be chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, regards it as worse than useless to try to reduce taxation in the coming session, and he looks upon a bonus act as inevitable, although he opposes it.

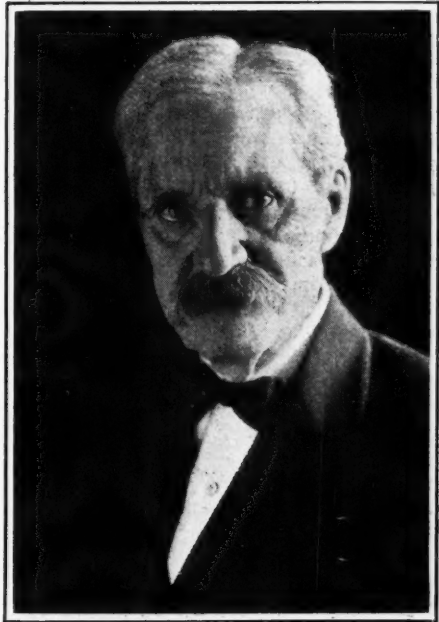
Taxes and Dole

We came dangerously close to the adoption of a depreciated monetary standard some thirty years ago, but a courageous stand against it, with a thorough campaign of education, led the American people to give their decision in favor of sound monetary policies. The present crisis is of a different kind, yet it calls for a firm stand and a thorough-going effort to reach the public. The ex-service men, like everybody else, have most to gain by supporting measures that will increase the real prosperity of the country. Reduced taxation would result in a large increase of ready money available for business enterprises, and while it would obviously benefit large taxpayers, it would be still more beneficial to the great mass of workers, including the agricultural interests. The distribution of

bonus money would keep up taxes and burden the public treasury for many years to come, without conferring a compensating benefit upon the average recipient of the proposed bounty. What the people of States and localities may decide to do for ex-service men is a question for their own judgments. Thus, the State of New York, at the recent election, voted a second time in approval of a \$45,000,000 bonus to those who entered war service from that State. The national Government is spending enormous sums, more or less wisely, in well-intended efforts to take care of all who were disabled in the country's service. But to grant a national bonus, regardless of individual necessities, is not a wise policy to adopt in the sixth year after the end of the war. A better cause for the American Legion to take up in earnest would be the proper and efficient use of the hundreds of millions expended annually through the Veterans' Bureau, with such good intentions but with such lamentable failure to secure commensurate results.

*Decisions
at the Polls in
November*

The November elections, although of consequence in particular States, gave no important indications of general tendency. Republican and Democratic National Committees alike pretended to find encouragement in the facts and figures. In the State of New York, the Republicans added to the majority in the Assembly (the lower branch of the legislature), by means of which they hold Governor Smith in check as respects some of his personal and party policies. If the Democrats had gained control of the legislature, the victory would have been regarded as a personal one for Governor Smith, and his prestige as a presidential candidate would have been enhanced. As a purely non-partisan matter, the voters of the State of New York by a large majority ratified the proposal to spend \$50,000,000 in providing new and proper buildings for the housing of the State's insane and other wards. This was an intelligent and right-minded action. In another matter that was submitted to popular vote, a notable victory was won by those who stood for public welfare as against private greed. Certain powerful interests had been influential enough to persuade the legislature to submit a constitutional amendment under the terms of which hydro-electric companies might have invaded the Adirondack forest



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HON. ALBERT B. CUMMINS, SENATOR FROM IOWA, WHO HAS BEEN PRESIDENT PRO TEM OF THE SENATE AND IS NOW LIKELY TO BE CHOSEN BY HIS COLLEAGUES AS PRESIDENT OF THAT BODY

(With Mr. Coolidge in the White House, the new President of the Senate will perform the duties that ordinarily devolve upon a Vice President)

reserves of the State, to expand their water-power monopolies. The amendment was condemned by a great number of the influential newspapers, and the voters defeated it by an overwhelming majority.

*Various
Election
Results*

The Democrats were successful in the three States in which Governors were to be elected. Governor Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland wins another term by an ample endorsement at the polls, while Hon. William J. Fields becomes Governor-elect of Kentucky and Hon. Henry L. Whitfield is to be the new Governor of Mississippi. To fill a vacancy caused by the death of Senator Dillingham of Vermont, an election was held which resulted in the choice of Hon. Porter H. Dale, the Republican candidate. Four vacant seats in New York's congressional delegation were filled by the election of two Democrats and two Republicans. A Republican Congressman was also elected in Vermont, a Democrat in Illinois and one in North Carolina. Mr. Hull, chairman of

the National Democratic Committee, declared that the results in Maryland and Kentucky were indicative of a decided turn of the tide against the Republicans, while the thirsty wets also regarded both of these State victories as having turned principally upon the argument that the Republicans were friendly to prohibition. The Anti-saloon League authorities, however, declared that both sides were wet in Maryland, and that the victor in Kentucky had made a dry record in Congress. Furthermore, it is claimed that both in New Jersey and New York the dries came out with decided gains. Surveying the entire situation, it may be assumed that the 1923 elections throw no light upon the probable strength of parties in the coming presidential contest.

*Prohibition
Enforcement*

During the past month there has probably been more discussion of prohibition enforcement than in any like period since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. In consequence, two things have been made more evident than before. The first of these is the appalling extent of law violations, and the second is the evidently increasing determination on the part of good citizens and conscientious officials to make the laws respected. A notable conference was held at the White House on October 20, which was attended by nearly two-thirds of the State Governors. President Coolidge presented a program in the interest of a more efficient cooperation between the federal and State authorities in enforcing the prohibitory régime. In his address to the Governors the President emphasized the duty of the States to uphold the Constitution and laws of the nation. Previous to this White House parley there had assembled at West Baden, Indiana, the annual Governors' Conference, and dry law enforcement was the principal theme of discussion. The efforts of Governor Pinchot to deal with this difficult problem in Penn-

sylvania have been previously mentioned in these pages.

*Governor
Pinchot's
Attitude*

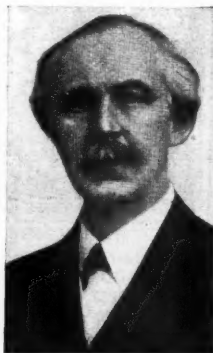
As a result of his observation and experience, Governor Pinchot insists that the federal machinery of enforcement, operating as a mere detail of a bureau of the Treasury Department, is irresponsible and inefficient. Undoubtedly Secretary Mellon has been sincere in assuming that the federal machinery of enforcement was functioning well. But in a matter of this kind Mr. Mellon must depend upon the reports of one of his Assistant Secretaries, who in turn depends

upon the reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, who in the very nature of the case, with his immense range of duties, can give only a small part of his time to the work of the chief Prohibition Director, who must depend upon the scattered agencies of federal enforcement throughout the country. Mr. Mellon, in his proper duties as Secretary of the Treasury, is winning high approval. But Governor

Pinchot is in immediate contact with the problems of law enforcement in the State of Pennsylvania, and it stands to reason that, in arguments between the Governor and the Secretary of the Treasury on this particular issue, the Governor is much better informed about the nature and extent of law violation.

*A "Rotten"
System of
Enforcement*

It is permissible to say that there is no evidence at all to justify the charge that Governor Pinchot is impelled by personal or political ambition. The country has long known him as a man devoted to the public welfare and guided solely by a sense of duty and a desire to render service along the line of his convictions. The Governor is certainly right in criticizing the federal system of prohibition enforcement as hopelessly irresponsible and unworthy of confidence or respect. His views have now been



HON. PORTER H.
DALE
(Elected Senator in
Vermont)

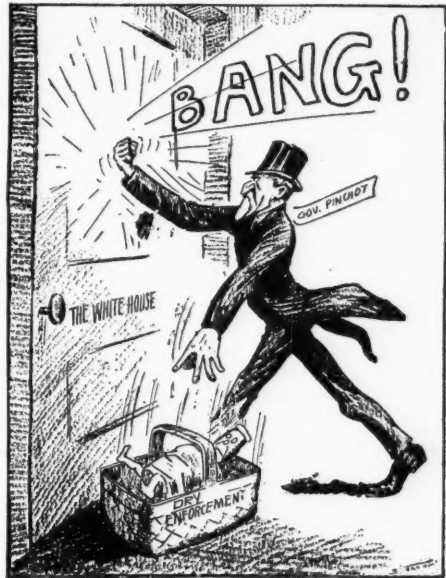


HON. HENRY L.
WHITFIELD
(Elected Governor in
Mississippi)

strongly reinforced by the Hon. William Dudley Foulke, head of the Civil Service Reform Association, who stigmatizes the enforcement agencies of federal prohibition as to a great extent corrupt as well as inefficient, and who demands the application of sound civil service rules. It is the system itself that needs reforming; and it is the duty of Congress in the first place to improve it and in the second place to appropriate as much money as may be needed to check smuggling and to break up certain existing conspiracies that are operating against the law on a large scale.

*Abolishing
the Three-Mile
Limit*

The British Government—having taken up the entire question with the Imperial Conference, that ended its sessions at London on November 8 after about six weeks of activity—has accepted the proposal of the American State Department to widen the zone within which search may be made of vessels supposed to be engaged in the business of liquor smuggling. A treaty was in process of drafting last month that will embody the main points agreed upon after much diplomatic interchange of views. The three-mile limit as a general principle in international law will undoubtedly be maintained. Our Government has not wished to establish a wider zone as coming under domestic jurisdiction for all purposes. But, where ships notoriously engaged in violating



NOT THE WAY IT IS USUALLY DONE

From the World-Herald (Omaha, Neb.)

our laws hover outside of a particular line and defy our revenue authorities, there can be no efficient remedy except search and seizure, and no precise geographical limit of immunity ought to be asserted in the interest of criminals of this kind.

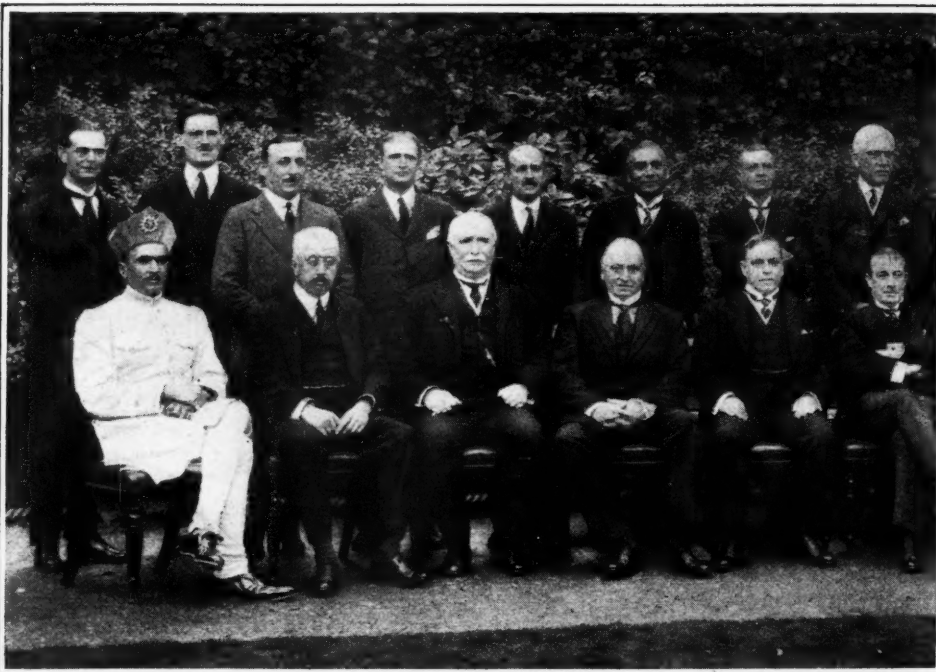
*Liquor
on Foreign
Ships*

On the other hand, the British authorities have had reason to object to the inconvenience caused by the American court decision that prevents foreign vessels from entering the three-mile zone with any liquors on board, even though under seal. At present, foreign vessels pass through the Panama Canal with their stores of alcoholic drinks on board but kept locked up. Our readers will remember that no question had been seriously raised about the right of foreign vessels to carry their ordinary supplies, as they entered our ports, in sufficient quantity for consumption on the outward voyage, until the Supreme Court in a decision rendered by it last April construed the law as making it illegal to bring such goods inside the three-mile zone. There are some delicate constitutional questions involved in the making of a treaty to permit foreign vessels to do that which the Supreme Court has pronounced as contrary to the meaning of the Constitution. Apart from technical constructions,



GOVERNOR PINCHOT BRINGS THE PROHIBITION BABY BACK TO HIS ORIGINAL HOME

From the News (Detroit, Mich.)



Photograph by Bassano, Ltd.

**THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, THE PREMIERS OF BRITAIN'S COLONIES AND DOMINIONS
OCTOBER AND**

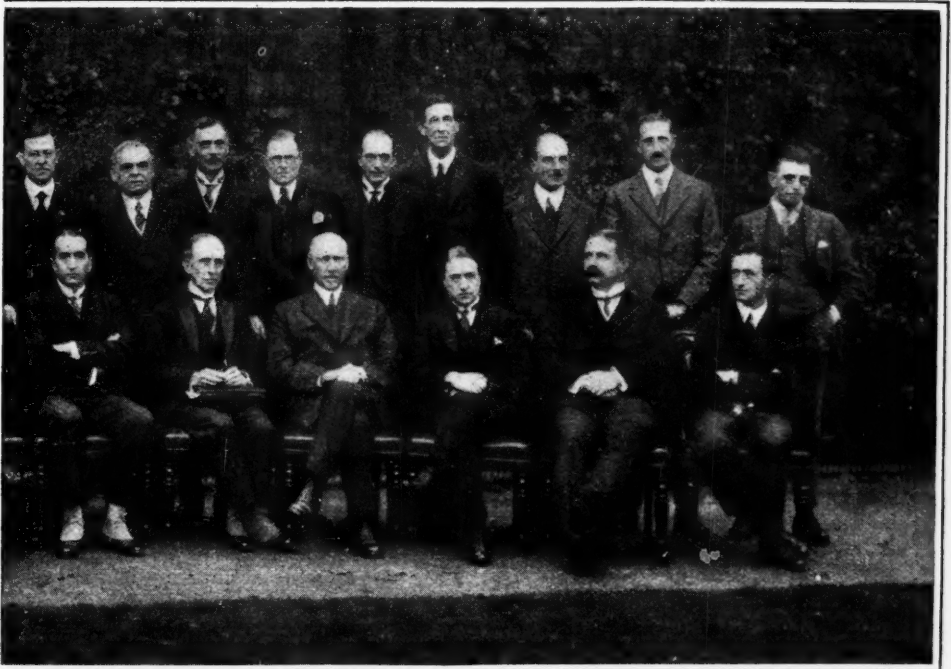
(Seated, left to right, are: The Maharajah of Alwar, representing semi-independent Indian princes; the Duke of Devon-Affairs; Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada; Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the British Prime Minister; Mr. Council; General Jan C. Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa; Mr. W. R. Warren, Prime Minister of New-State Government. Standing, left to right, are: Professor Rushbrook Williams, Mr. McGilligan, Mr. Thomson, of New direct British rule; Mr. H. Burton, Minister of Finance in South Africa; Mr. G. P. Graham, Minister of Railways in Canada; Minister of Justice; Mr. N. J. De Wet, Minister of Justice in South Africa; Mr. J. C. C. Davidson, M. P., of Canada; of South Africa;

it would seem reasonable to allow foreign ships to carry the supplies that had been customary previous to last April; and it is assuredly a proper thing that the rum fleet should be seized, sunk, or driven away, regardless of precise distances from shore. We have by no means heard the last of these questions, inasmuch as any treaty relating to them that is submitted to the Senate will provoke an elaborate debate.

*Tariffs and
the Imperial
Conference*

The Imperial Conference did not hold its sessions in public, and full reports of its proceedings and conclusions are not yet available. Undoubtedly it gave much attention to the subject of coöperation for imperial defense, and it would seem permissible to infer that tariffs and trade were more extensively discussed than any other topic. With England's continuing burden of unemployment, the British authorities are naturally anxious to hold as much as

possible of the imperial market as an outlet for their own industries. The dominions and colonies, moreover, are hardly less anxious to have preferential access to the British market for food supplies and raw materials. In order to make colonial preference an efficient and vital policy, it would seem to be necessary that Great Britain should set up a general tariff wall and abandon the long-time theory and practice of free trade. Through this proposed tariff wall, special doors would be constructed for the admission of particular commodities produced in the dominions and colonies. While such a policy seems not to have been worked out upon bold lines by the conference, it is evident that a good many steps were taken in the direction of a logical structure of British and imperial protectionism. The subject of immigration was of course discussed, and plans were set on foot to make it easier for British settlers to establish themselves in Canada or Australia.



AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE WHICH MET AT LONDON IN NOVEMBER

shire, British Colonial Secretary; Mr. W. F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand; Lord Curzon, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Stanley M. Bruce, Prime Minister of Australia; Lord Salisbury, who holds the Cabinet post of Lord President of the Council; Lord Peel, Secretary for India; and Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, Minister for External Affairs in the Irish Free State; Professor O. D. Skelton, of Canada; Sir Maurice Hankey; Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, representing Indians under the Government of India; Senator R. V. Wilson, Honorary Minister in Charge of Health and Migration in Australia; Sir Lomer Gouin, Canadian Minister of the Interior; Sir J. E. Masterton-Smith; Sir Robert Garran, Solicitor General in Australia; Mr. E. J. Harding; Captain E. F. C. Lane, and Mr. Carew)

*Mr. Baldwin
Abandons
Free Trade*

It may be fairly said that it was the Imperial Conference that paved the way for Premier Baldwin's rather sudden determination to announce his conversion to the views of certain Australian statesmen, and to appeal to the country for support in a general election to be held early in December. A notable British parliamentary election was held just five years ago, in the atmosphere of the great rejoicing and high expectations that followed the welcome news of the Armistice. A more favorable moment could not have been seized by Premier Lloyd George and his colleagues for securing a vote of confidence than in December, 1918; and the Coalition majority that resulted was, in point of fact, too large to be reliable. This majority was so dominated by the old Conservative or Tory elements that in due time they were able to break up the Coalition, force Lloyd George out of office, and install the late Bonar Law as Prime Minis-

ter, and the elections of November, 1922, confirmed their working control. The serious illness of Bonar Law compelled him to retire from public life last May, and his place was filled by the present Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin.

*Seeking
A Popular
Verdict*

Mr. Bonar Law, while Prime Minister, had declared that there would be no general change in Great Britain's fiscal policies without a definite public sanction. Mr. Baldwin has now come to the conclusion that the theory and practice of British free trade should be abandoned, and that it should be replaced by the theory and practice of protective tariffs. But he feels bound by Bonar Law's promise, and therefore appeals to the country. He believes that British industries should be protected against what he regards as an increasing menace from foreign countries. Undoubtedly in many lines German goods have been



RT. HON. HERBERT H. ASQUITH, FORMER
BRITISH PREMIER, WITH MRS. ASQUITH AT
LORD MORLEY'S FUNERAL

(Mr. Asquith is leading the re-united Liberal party, in association with Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, in the fight against Premier Baldwin's protectionist program)

able to under-sell the British in their own home markets. American labor costs are so high that the British are not much concerned about American competition in manufactured articles, generally speaking. But in order to secure an especially favorable position for English manufactured goods in the Canadian, Australian, and other colonial markets, Mr. Baldwin would establish high rates against many American articles of raw material or food supply in order to create opportunity for discrimination in the interest of the outlying parts of the empire. These are proposals that are of profound significance; and the British people are allowed quite too short a time to discuss them before voting on December 6.

*Liberals
United Against
Protection*

A clear-cut issue arises between parties, and the opportunity has thus been afforded for the Liberals to unite their factions and make the fight for England's long-established policies of freedom in trade and commerce. Under these circumstances, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, who had been the heads of rival factions, seized the occasion

to lay aside their personal differences and to enter the contest as joint leaders of a re-united Liberal party, with Mr. Winston Churchill as a third, and only less eminent than these two former Premiers. Nominally, Mr. Asquith is accorded the place of honor as chief, in view of his seniority. That Mr. Lloyd George regained some personal prestige in England by reason of his cordial reception everywhere in America is admitted even by his most inveterate enemies. The Labor party will stand upon its own feet in the election, although in some constituencies the Labor vote may support a Liberal candidate, and *vice versa*. Mr. Stanley Baldwin is a typical business expert rather than a politician or an economic theorist. Protective tariffs look to him like a practical remedy for immediate troubles. His attitude toward issues on the Continent has seemed, also, to be that of a man trying to adjust the difficulties of the moment rather than that of a statesman capable of thinking along lines of permanent policy. In his rather off-hand conversion to protectionism, he seems to have been swayed by the aggressive and eloquent arguments of the leaders in the Imperial Conference.



VERY STRANGE TO THE ON-LOOKER

"A Banner with a Strange Device"

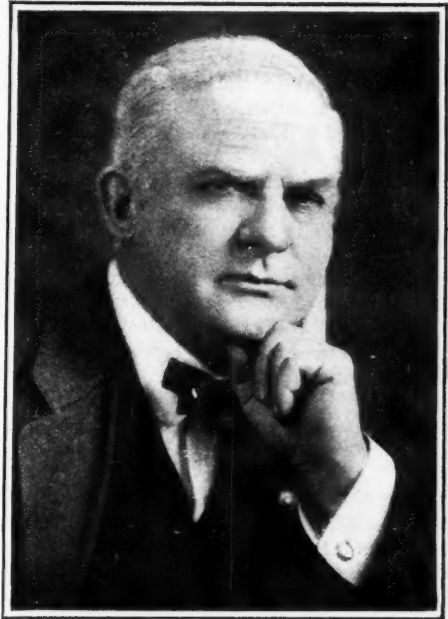
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

*Migration
Problems
Acute*

Immigration problems are not of transient concern, but are evidently going to be major issues in various countries for a number of years to come. The people of India were ably represented at the Imperial Conference, and they demanded equality of treatment in other parts of the British Empire. But this demand was stubbornly opposed by Premier Smuts on behalf of South Africa, and not less firmly by the representatives of Australia and New Zealand. The question of Indian immigration is less acute in Canada, but the Dominion would not tolerate a large oriental influx. Meanwhile agricultural prices do not now encourage a rush of people from England to Western Canada; and although the United States could absorb hundreds of thousands of British workers at good wages, our immigration laws are keeping them out. It might be possible so to adjust our laws as to admit thoroughly desirable people from English-speaking countries without opening the gates too widely for immigrants who do not speak our language and who could not be so readily assimilated. The French are fully occupied at home and have no population problem on their hands. Our present quota system is not working well, and a new immigration policy will have to be considered by the present Congress.

*Wheat
Prices and the
Farmers*

We are publishing elsewhere in this number certain statements by Congressman Little of Kansas on the price of wheat as affected by the relations of supply and demand, and particularly by the spread of reports that tend always to make the farmer the victim of speculative fluctuation. After much study of the statistics of the crop of 1923 as compared with previous wheat crops, Mr. Little is firmly convinced that there is no world surplus in sight, and that the earlier estimates of a large American wheat surplus are purely mythical, when brought to the test of severe facts. However much or little truth there may be in the opinion that false reports are circulated in sheer fraud and dishonesty, it is undeniably true that the men who produce an agricultural commodity like wheat, or cattle, or cotton, are almost invariably the sufferers from prices that fluctuate violently. When, in times to come, the business of wheat producing is under better management and control through the adoption of coöperative



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HON. EDWARD C. LITTLE, OF KANSAS

(Mr. Little is the distinguished Congressman whose work as chairman of the Committee on Revision of the Laws of the United States has been so deservedly praised. He contributes to this issue a strong statement on the wheat crop and wheat prices)

methods, it will be possible so to stabilize prices that every farmer may know at the time when he sows his seed what minimum price he may count upon receiving when he sells his harvested grain through his own representative agency.

*Prices
Can Be Made
Stable*

The time will come when middle-western farmers will refuse to feed their corn to beef cattle, except on guarantees of price that eliminate speculative uncertainty. There is no reason at all why within a few years the wheat-growers of the Northwest or of Kansas should not have obtained a guaranteed price for their wheat, even a full year in advance, from the elevator companies and the millers. These remarks are made with full knowledge of the objections that will be raised. It will take time to reform agricultural conditions so that the farmer may not be living under the difficulty of buying on a high-price level and selling on a low-price level. To make collective bargaining efficient has been a matter of great difficulty for dairy farmers; but

success is gradually crowning their efforts. Agriculture is not like other kinds of business, because it is fundamental to every enterprise, and to the nation's very life. The country as a whole will suffer, and it will deserve to, if it does not maintain rural life. Farmers do not get their share of the advantages of modern civilization, in proportion to the taxes they pay and the services they render. These remarks are not made in criticism of an Agricultural Department that is straining every nerve to promote the best interests of American farming. Let the farmer adopt coöperation on a large scale, and demand full legal right-of-way for collective methods.

*City
and Country
Problems*

Forty years ago the city slums were regarded as a menace to the welfare of modern industrial nations. Country life, with all of its vicissitudes, averaged far better than city life when estimated in terms of health, education, physical well-being, social standards, and responsible citizenship. The progress of towns and cities since 1880 has been unprecedented. The death rate has been reduced by half, educational opportunities have been improved beyond the most sanguine hopes, slums of the old-time character have quite disappeared, citizenship is much more responsibly exercised, poverty and distress are not chronic conditions, and the social fabric has been improved in almost every respect. In view of the rapidity with which the cities have been growing, it would have been an ominous thing if our people had not learned how to live decently under urban conditions. Meanwhile, the rural neighborhoods have found it hard to keep up with the march of the times. It remains true that the half of our population that is not living under strictly urban conditions is better off, speaking in averages, than the city half. But there is great unevenness in the conditions of country life, and some of the tremendous public and private energy that has been expended in reforming the town conditions must now be applied to our rural problems.

*Betterment
of Country
Life*

People living on the land have to consider farm life from two standpoints. The farmer is a producer of certain commodities for the supply of a consuming public, and in that sense he is a definite factor in the economic community. But the farm family, at the

same time, is carrying on the business of living; and it is sound policy for the farmer to make the home as nearly independent and self-sustaining as possible. The two phases of the farmers' life are intimately related to one another. Agricultural coöperation is doing much to promote business stability and success in the carrying on of farms as business enterprises. Many agencies, meanwhile, are at work to help the individual farm family and the rural community to maintain as high standards as possible in all that makes for the dignity, comfort, pleasure, and moral worth of domestic and neighborhood life. Many societies and organizations were represented last month in the sixth Annual Conference of the American Country Life Association, which held its sessions at St. Louis. The particular topic for this season was the Rural Home; and a great number of highly qualified delegates took part in the proceedings. There are those who say that if you show the farmer how to make money, everything else in rural life will take care of itself. This is not the viewpoint of the Country Life Association under the presidency of Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, head of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, although no one is more familiar than Dr. Butterfield and his fellow-workers with the economic problems of agriculture and their pressing importance.

*Progress
of an Old
Farming State*

In spite of the fact that periods occur in which the agricultural community seems to be the victim of grievous hardships, there is such strength of character and purpose in the American farming stock that we must not



THE HARVEST MOON OF 1923

(Not such a bad old Moon at that)

From the Pioneer Press (St. Paul, Minn.)

suppose for a moment that our country people will ever sink to the level of a European or Asiatic peasant class. The best way to understand the conditions of American life is to study particular States and regions through a sufficient term of years to establish a basis of comparison. The State of Wisconsin affords an excellent opportunity for such a study, and its agricultural evolution has been well set forth in a volume recently issued by the State Historical Society and prepared by Dr. Joseph Schafer. Another State that furnishes quite as encouraging a picture of progress is North Carolina, one of the original thirteen. Today, as for more than two hundred years past, it is a State made up predominantly of farms and rural communities. We are publishing in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS an admirable account of the recent progress and present conditions of North Carolina. Here we find an old American population maintaining its characteristics, but steadily availing itself of the facilities that belong to an age of inventions so applied as to promote the general welfare. The North Carolina farmers are banded together to provide themselves with good roads and good schools. They are learning the advantages of diversified agriculture, so that while producing crops to be sold for cash they may also better protect their standards of living by raising their own food supplies. In spite of the reverses that southern farmers have suffered through the boll weevil, and that Western farmers have encountered through violent price changes, there is to-day a better outlook for the life and the business of farming in the United States than for any other kind of life and work in which very large numbers of people are concerned.

*Cotton at
War Time
Prices*

Buyers of cotton, excited by the Department of Agriculture's November forecast of this year's crop, drove the price of the staple last month to 34 cents a pound amid general predictions that still higher quotations would be reached during the next season. The highest price of this generation came after the World War, in 1920, when cotton attained its peak of 43.75 cents. Since then it has been as low as 11 cents, and it is only about a decade since the Southern planters were trying to struggle along with this, their "cash crop," bringing only 5 or 6 cents a pound. The Government forecast which

led to the sensational advance of last month predicted a final American crop production for 1923 of 10,248,000 bales, the average condition of the crop having been reduced by storms, cold weather, and the boll weevil to 47.8 per cent. of normal.

*The Third
Crop Failure*

This is the third successive short crop of cotton, and the results are sensationally shown in the statistical position of the commodity. Whereas the carry-over of American cotton in 1921 was 9,364,000 bales, and 4,879,000 last year, it fell in 1923 to 2,573,000 bales, with a total of both "visible" and "invisible" stocks indicated for next year of only 1,471,000 bales. The annual consumption is 12,000,000 bales, or more, and it looks as if the world was facing a cotton famine. In the cotton-growing areas, the Carolinas and Texas fared better than most of the other States. Arkansas, Oklahoma, Mississippi—and, to a less extent, Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama—suffered this season from cold and wet weather, which led to abnormal abandonment of acreage, a cutting down of the yield per acre, and serious impairment of the quality of the remaining crop.

*Cotton Cloth
Will Be
Dear*

It is estimated that American consumers of cotton goods must pay something like \$300,000,000 more next year because of this crisis in production and in the stocks on hand. Foreign purchases have been, of late, increasing; the upward flurry of prices for raw cotton is making the Lancashire spinner and the German manufacturer rush in panicky haste to get their requirements, regardless of price. Germany, by the way, is actually using more American cotton than is England, by about 15 per cent., indicating that credits must have been established at foreign points to pay for the raw materials needed to keep her mills going. The shortage is particularly disturbing to the great cotton mills of our Northeastern States, already seriously embarrassed by abnormal costs resulting from high wages. The New England mills were forced to give back to their employees one-half of the previous reduction of 22½ per cent. from the war-time peak of wage scales. As a typical result, the great Amoskeag Mills, perhaps the largest in the world, are making no cotton goods, these high labor costs necessitating prices which, they fear, the public will not be able to pay.

Federal Aid Is Asked

This third successive disaster in the cotton fields has led to serious discussion as to whether our Southern States can produce under present conditions their predominant share of the cotton needed by the world. Of these untoward conditions the most fatal and persistent is the boll weevil; and demands are heard throughout the cotton-growing States for a substantial federal appropriation to combat the pest. Five to ten million dollars should be considered as modest, such advocates say, when a single season of misfortune to the Southern fields can and does add several hundred millions of dollars to the cost of cotton goods to the American people. The last week of October brought in New Orleans a conference of bankers, business men, planters, and scientific experts to discuss the best technical ways of exterminating the weevil and, also, the question of help from Congress in the work. Some planters favor spraying the cotton plants with calcium arsenate; others condemn that method, advocating the gathering and burning of the fallen bolls that have been pierced by the weevils. The great obstacle here is the Augean task of gathering the infested bolls; all sorts of instruments and devices have been suggested, from pointed steel sticks designed to pick up the fallen bolls by hand, to elaborate, mule-drawn machines to sweep up the ground and pass the material into furnaces.

Government Finance

We have already referred to the political aspects of proposed tax revision. There are practical business aspects that are leading to widespread demands for a revision downward. Hon. Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, in putting himself on record as favoring important cuts in the income surtaxes, declares that more money would be collected from lower rates, because of the lessened impulse on the part of well-to-do people to invest in tax-exempt securities. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, the Government spent \$5,538,000,000. It is expected that the current fiscal year will show nearly two billion less of expenditures. There has been only one tax reduction, that of 1921; and thousands of business men feel that the time has come to cut the nation's annual tax bill. But as we have already intimated, in spite of Secretary Mellon's advocacy and the probability that the

Administration will recommend a revision of the Revenue Act this winter, it is difficult to see how a really scientific tax bill can be constructed on the eve of a presidential campaign, or how any new revenue bill could get through Congress this winter without startling compromises with the radical thinkers, which would probably lead the President to veto it. It is reported that the Administration itself has a novel feature under consideration—a special form of inheritance tax to apply on tax-free securities.

Another Surplus Now Certain

The original estimates looked to a deficit for the current fiscal year of from \$30,000,000 to \$60,000,000. In consequence, however, of receipts much heavier in the first quarter than were anticipated, it is expected there will be a substantial surplus for the year ending June 30, next. The customs receipts continue to be the surprisingly gratifying feature of the Government's current finances. Originally expected to produce only a little over \$300,000,000 a year, the new Tariff Act actually brought in about \$500,000,000 last year, and imports during this autumn are running heavier than in 1922. It seems likely that the twelve months ending July 1, 1924, will find nearer \$600,000,000 collected from customs duties than the \$500,000,000 in the budget estimate. A surplus, to be actually achieved, depends obviously on the thrifty management of appropriations. The President has asked that expenditures for this year be cut at least \$126,000,000, and the budgeteers are now struggling to carry out his wishes.



MR. MELLON INFORMS THE TAXPAYER THAT HE CANNOT HAVE REDUCED RATES AND SOLDIERS' BONUS AT THE SAME TIME

From the World (New York)

But all matters of surplus and of possible tax reduction depend on what is done in the matter of a bonus bill, and few observers expect the staving-off of a bonus bill beyond the coming Congress.

*What Mr.
Mellon
Would Do*

In a letter to Chairman Green of the Ways and Means Committee, made public on November 12, Secretary Mellon gives with convincing force and admirable clarity his program for tax revision. The clear reasoning of the document reinforces the conviction, becoming constantly more general, that in Mr. Mellon the nation has an exceptionally able financier and public servant. The Secretary proposes to cut by 25 per cent. the tax on earned incomes, as distinguished from investment and business incomes—a move that appeals strongly to the average man's sense of justice. He proposes, also, to change the 4 per cent. normal tax to 3, and the 8 per cent. rate to 6, and to hold the surtaxes to a maximum of 25 per cent. for incomes of \$100,000 or more. Finally, he would repeal telegraph, telephone, and theater taxes. These changes would result in an estimated loss of revenue aggregating \$391,000,000. On the other side of the ledger, Mr. Mellon advocates (1) limiting the deduction of capital losses to 12½ per cent. of the loss, (2) taxing "community" income on the husband or wife controlling it, and (3) limiting deductions for interest paid. These three items would add, it is estimated, \$68,000,000 to the present revenue. Thus the net loss of revenue under this proposed plan would be \$323,000,000. The years 1922 and 1923 have each closed with a surplus of over three hundred millions above ordinary budget expenses that include interest and sinking fund requirements; and the Secretary says that we may look forward for the next four or five years to similar gratifying balances. To illustrate the final effect of such cuts, Mr. Mellon gives a table showing that the man receiving an income of \$5,000 and now paying \$68, would, under his plan, pay \$38.25; the \$10,000 income, now taxed \$456, would pay \$234.

*The Coal
Commission
Reports*

Last year, impelled by the great coal strike, in which all the anthracite and about half of the bituminous miners were idle for 163 days, the President appointed a fact-finding commission, headed by Mr. John Hays



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HON. WILLIAM R. GREEN, OF IOWA

(Who is to be chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, succeeding Mr. Fordney, who has retired from public life. Mr. Green was born in Connecticut, educated at Oberlin College, Ohio, and has been a lawyer in Iowa for about forty years. After serving four terms on the State bench, he entered Congress, and is beginning his seventh consecutive term. His home is at Council Bluffs.)

Hammond. This commission has now disbanded, after a year of work, putting the result of its labors into an 800,000-word report. Men of unusual ability on the commission worked faithfully over the vexed questions of coal mining; but their views and economic temperaments were not always in exact line. It would have been in any case too much to expect that a commission should in one year show precisely how to "perfectionize" the coal industry. There is a great quantity of useful facts in the report, and it is a distinct gain that these should have been gathered together and authoritatively stated. The chief points made in the voluminous document are that government ownership of the coal fields, price-fixing, and compulsory arbitration do not promise well; that the tendency toward monopoly in the anthracite fields, deplored as a "fundamental evil," has resulted at least in more efficient, conservative, and orderly mining by the large, well-financed companies; that the nation should get revenue from taxing coal

royalties; and that while the employers and miners should be left, normally, to adjust their own relations, a skeleton organization should be at the service of the federal Government that would enable it, in times of great emergency, to take control of production and distribution.

Costs and Profits

The commission was handicapped in its efforts to enlighten the nation as to the profits of the coal operators by the lack of exact information as to the capital invested. It finds that the largest anthracite operators had in 1913 a margin of profit of 36 cents a ton, with taxes yet to be paid, whereas in the first quarter of 1923 this margin per ton was 93 cents. It seems, however, that this larger margin of profit in the later period was mainly the result of production being pushed to the limit to make up for the deficiency caused by the great strike of 1922. It also appears that for the year 1922 there was a loss of 28 cents on each ton mined. In 1913 the average price of stove coal at the mine was \$3.53 per ton. To-day the quotations are from \$8.00 to \$8.35 for the large "railroad" companies and \$8.50 to \$11.50 for "independent" coal. In the ten years since 1913, the labor cost of producing a ton of coal has risen from \$1.56 to \$4.12. The commission finds much to criticize in the wholesaling of coal, especially in speculative re-sales from wholesaler to wholesaler before it reaches the retail merchant. The profits of the wholesaler look, too, rather large—rising in 1920 to 55.2 per cent. on the capital invested by 333 firms.

The Governors' Coal Conference

On November 13, Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania issued invitations to the Governors of twenty-nine States—those in the East and Northeast, to which Pennsylvania anthracite normally goes—to meet at Harrisburg on November 26. Governor Pinchot proposed to submit to the assembled State executives his suggestions for federal legislation, designed to protect the consumer in the price he pays for hard coal. The call for the conference made the point that the operators had declined to take any action in the matter. Since the settlement of the coal strike, an investigation into retail prices has been made at Harrisburg; and Governor Pinchot is convinced that the final expenses of householders can be reduced, even under the new and higher wage

scale, and that this can be done without injustice to the operators. As 90 per cent. of the anthracite coal mined in Pennsylvania is consumed outside of that State, it is clear that any legislative aid should be through federal action. The report of the fact-finding Coal Commission, referred to in the preceding paragraphs, was more definite in its recommendations as to wholesalers than as to mining operators. It considered the profits of wholesalers too high, that too much capital was attracted by the abnormal gains, and advised legislative limitations of the wholesaler's total margin of profit per ton, to reduce the evil of speculative re-sales.

Europe at Work, and Russian Progress

Mr. Simonds opens his article this month with a picture of European recovery that is upon the whole very encouraging. When manufacturing and commerce are not employing people up to full capacity, there is always, of necessity, a resort to the land. Most European countries since the armistice have had to depend upon domestic agriculture more fully than before. This year European crops upon the whole have been exceptionally large. All that Europe needs, for a very rapid return to prosperity and normal conditions, is the assurance of peace. Dr. Nansen, who is a welcome visitor to the United States, and whose qualities and career are set forth in a character sketch that we are glad to publish in the present number, has had unusual knowledge of conditions in Russia on account of his relief work in that country. He believes that there are signs that indicate steady Russian improvement, and he has great faith in the future of the Russian people. The Soviet Government is likely to continue for some time, because there is no organized movement capable of breaking it down. But Communistic theories have been practically abandoned, and the great mass of Russian farmers will in the long run hold Russia to recognized economic principles. A new and sound currency is rapidly replacing the discredited paper rubles, in Russia's business transactions. A good deal of Russia's grain crop for 1923 will be exported to other European countries, and the proceeds will be used for the purchase of horses, farm implements, and other necessary supplies. In their extreme distress, the Russians had killed and eaten many of the horses needed for farm work. Russia

has bought many new locomotives from Germany and Sweden, and her railroad system is on the way to efficiency.

*Should
Germany Be
Broken Up?*

Economic conditions in Germany are bad, and the prospects for the winter are not reassuring. This has been due largely to the policy of passive resistance which for so many months has stopped the wheels of industry, especially in the Ruhr district. The German Empire, as constituted after the Franco-Prussian War half a century ago, was based upon militarism, and upon ambition to dominate Europe and to create a great navy and a colonial empire. With militarism crushed, the navy sunk, and the colonial empire non-existent, the bonds that had held such distinct units as Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, and the Rhine districts in union with Prussia, under Hohenzollern leadership, have been greatly weakened. It is commonly assumed that the German States ought to be held together as a political unit in the heart of Europe. But there is no more reason in the nature of things why Bavaria should be dominated from Berlin than that Austria should be annexed. The New Europe is one in which a number of important new States have arisen upon the breakdown of the Hapsburg and Romanoff empires. It might make for the permanent peace of Europe to have a further group of separate German States, entering the League of Nations independently, and compelled by their circumstances to seek the common good of Europe, rather than to dream of power through the superior numbers and strength of a federated Germany. As for the payment of reparations, it is by no means certain that better results might not come from dealing with a Germany politically dissolved, than from an impotent government at Berlin purporting to represent a German solidarity that no longer exists.

*Mexico in
Political
Turmoil*

Our Mexican neighbors are in a good deal of political turmoil because of presidential politics. Their election comes next summer, and General Obregon will give place to a new man. The two principal candidates have both been members of the Obregon Cabinet. General Calles is the candidate favored by President Obregon and his adherents, while the opposing candidate is Adolfo de la Huerta, until recently Secre-

tary of the Treasury. The contest is turning old friends into bitter enemies, and leading from heated arguments to bloody encounters. It was Mr. De la Huerta who came to New York a year or more ago and arranged for the resumption of interest payments on Mexico's foreign debt. He is now charged with fraudulent misuse of public funds applicable to the debt situation. There have been scenes of violence in and around the Chamber of Deputies. Members of that body are not allowed to bring weapons inside the Chamber, but it is said that they have been resorting to the practice of placing armed friends in the galleries who drop down guns to the excited Deputies in moments of emergency. It is to be hoped that Mexico can come through this presidential election without civil war, but the situation is a serious one. Our recent recognition of Mexico was based upon negotiations that resulted in the assurance that property rights acquired by American citizens previous to 1917 (particularly relating to petroleum lands) should be exempt from the drastic provisions of the new Constitution. Although this principle has been recognized, it is feared lest there may be difficulty in securing its equitable application in particular instances.

*Our
Candidates
for 1924*

We are also talking much in this country about the next incumbent of the White House, but without taking party differences very seriously and with no bitterness toward individuals. Senator Hiram Johnson has been duly announced as a Republican candidate, with Senator La Follette presumably in the field. The name of Governor Pinchot is mentioned, as also that of Mr. Lowden, formerly Governor of Illinois. Obviously, President Coolidge has the advantage of position. On the Democratic side, the leading name continues to be that of William G. McAdoo, with Senator Underwood next, and with Mr. Cox of Ohio, Senator Ralston of Indiana, Governor Smith of New York, and several others in the background. Henry Ford's name has been less prominent in the headlines for three or four weeks, but it will doubtless reappear. New York City has been raising money to back its bid for the Democratic convention, while Cleveland, Ohio, and Des Moines, Iowa—not to mention San Francisco—have been trying to take the Republican convention away from Chicago.



From *American Forestry* (Washington, D. C.)

A PART OF BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, DESTROYED ON SEPTEMBER 17 LAST BY A BRUSH AND FOREST FIRE STARTING IN THE NEIGHBORING HILLS

(The fire covered an area of about sixty city blocks, adjoining the campus of the University of California on the north. In the burned area lived about sixty university professors and fifty instructors and assistants, with thirty other persons in the employ of the university, and more than 1000 students. These lost their homes and most of their household goods, and about twelve fraternity and sorority houses were consumed. Fortunately, no university buildings were seriously damaged)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From October 15 to November 15, 1923)

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 16.—The Interstate Commerce Commission refuses to order reductions in grain rates west of the Mississippi, as no evidence had been presented to warrant such action; an investigation of the whole grain freight situation is decided upon.

President Coolidge suggests to Samuel Rea, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, that voluntary changes should be made in coal and grain rates; there is criticism of the fact that coal freight rates to export points are lower than for the same distances for domestic consumption; farmers, however, seek to lower export wheat rates below the domestic.

Chairman Farley, of the United States Shipping Board, announces that, as of June 30, 1923, there were in American overseas trade, under his direction, 356 vessels of 2,287,064 gross tons, including 29 passenger ships.

October 17.—The Filipino legislature adopts Sergio Osmena's resolution approving action of the Independence Commission demanding General Wood's recall.

The Oklahoma House of Representatives, after stormy debate, unanimously passes a resolution to investigate the Ku Klux Klan and directs appointment of a committee to inquire into Governor Walton's charges.

The fifteenth annual Conference of Governors assembles at West Baden, Indiana.

October 18.—Governor-General Wood is in-

formed that the Administration at Washington is giving him full support in his efforts to restore good government in the Philippines; Secretary Weeks' message says, in part: "Congress, after full consideration, vested the authority of control and supervision over all departments and bureaus in the Governor-General, which makes these officials directly responsible to him and not to the legislature as in a parliamentary form of government."

At New York City, eleven rum-runners are arrested, charged with conspiracy in an \$800,000 bribery plot to ship beer from New Jersey to the metropolis.

The Conference of Governors takes up the question of prohibition enforcement in executive session, with considerable disagreement.

October 19.—In the Governors' Conference, a law-enforcement resolution is passed by Governors of twenty-four States and two territories (Hawaii and Alaska); Louisiana and New Jersey vote "no."

October 20.—The Conference of Governors, reassembled at Washington, D. C., adopts a program for prohibition enforcement, with nearly two-thirds of the States represented.

October 21.—The Coal Commission reports that wholesale coal dealers have been taking over 200 per cent. more profit than in the pre-war period, while retailers are making less; federal regulation of distribution is recommended for emergency conditions.

October 22.—A special committee of the Senate starts an inquiry into the Veterans Bureau; Brig.-Gen. Frank T. Hines, present Director, makes strong criticism of the work of Col. Charles R. Forbes, former Director.

At Doyleston, Pa., three Pennsylvania State troopers arrest eight United States Internal Revenue agents for transporting liquor illegally after re-gauging warehouse stocks of whisky.

Governor-General Leonard Wood starts for Mindanao to investigate a Moro uprising against the Filipino Governor there; the legislative leaders say they will not pass the executive budget for Governor Wood; Governor Wood recommends a discontinuance of parcel post arrangements between the islands and the United States, effective November 1.

The Senate Public Lands Committee opens an investigation of the lease of the Teapot Dome naval oil reserve, by the Government to an operator; two New York experts testify that there are only 26,000,000 barrels in the reserve, due to drainage, instead of an estimated 135,000,000 barrels.

October 23.—The Oklahoma House of Representatives approves, 77 to 17, the first of a series of articles of impeachment against Governor J. C. Walton, charging corruption; the impeachment is filed with the Senate, which notifies the Governor that he is automatically suspended.

October 24.—The Oklahoma House approves five additional articles of impeachment against Governor Walton; the Senate organizes as a court of impeachment.

October 25.—The Oklahoma Supreme Court, voting 5 to 4, upholds the Senate in suspending Governor Walton, declares Lieut.-Gov. M. E. Trapp acting-Governor, and restrains Governor Walton from interfering with the temporary executive; the State Senate approves the House resolution for a legislative investigation of the Klan.

The Filipino legislature appoints a commission of six to investigate the situation in Mindanao; the Senate decides to investigate interim appointments, particularly that of Eulogio Rodriguez as Mayor of Manila.

October 27.—At Manila, three Representatives and one Senator resign from the Filipino legislature; all were appointed by Governor-General Wood.

October 28.—Governor Pinchot proposes to Secretary Mellon a plan for enforcing prohibition in Pennsylvania, suggesting that State police be given access to liquor plants operating under federal permits, which he thinks should be cancelled if violated.

October 29.—Secretary Mellon tells Governor Pinchot that Pennsylvania State troopers already have legal authority to enter liquor plants and that violators of the law are being closed for a year, the maximum under the law.

October 31.—The navy court of inquiry which investigated the wrecking of seven destroyers on the California coast reports to Secretary Denby that it believes the disaster was caused by faulty navigation and bad judgment; the three officers who are accused of culpable inefficiency will be tried by general court-martial; the radio lighthouse service seems to have been exonerated.

November 1.—Governor Walton is placed on trial by the Oklahoma Senate in impeachment proceedings.

November 6.—Democratic Governors are elected in three States, Maryland reelecting Governor Albert C. Ritchie, Mississippi electing Henry L. Whitfield (Dem.), and Kentucky electing William C. Fields (Dem.); Porter H. Dale (Rep.) is elected to the United States Senate in Vermont, succeeding Senator Dillingham, deceased; judicial, congressional, and municipal elections occur throughout the country in scattered districts; Hearst candidates are defeated in New York; Philadelphia elects W. Free-land Kendrick (Rep.) as Mayor; San Francisco reelects Mayor James Rolph, Jr.

In Pennsylvania, the \$50,000,000 highway bond amendment is approved; in New York the \$45,000,000 soldier bonus amendment is carried, along with a \$50,000,000 bond issue for remodeling State institutions for defectives; Ohio voters reject an old-age pension proposal and approve an amendment relieving employers from liability in private suit where covered by State workmen's compensation insurance. . . . The proposal for a State income tax in Oregon is apparently carried.

November 8.—At Bastrop, La., four Klansmen recently convicted of carrying arms on the premises of another are each fined \$10 and costs.

November 9.—Police Commissioner Enright, of New York City, is cleared of charges of graft in connection with enforcement of the State prohibition law, since repealed.

November 10.—Former President Woodrow Wilson addresses the radio audience from his home in Washington, in commemoration of Armistice Day; he characterizes American policy since the war ended as ignoble and cowardly, and he declares that France and Italy have made waste paper of the Treaty of Versailles.

November 11.—At Washington, D. C., a National Vigilance Association is formed to work through education and legislation for the disintegration of the Ku Klux Klan.

Secretary Mellon suggests a program of tax reduction in a letter to Congressman William R. Green of the Ways and Means Committee; he proposes 25 per cent. reduction in taxes on earned incomes and lower rates throughout; he believes that \$323,000,000 a year can thus be saved to tax-payers, but that no reduction is possible if a soldier-bonus measure is adopted by Congress.

November 12.—The United States Supreme Court sustains State laws of California and Washington prohibiting ownership of agricultural lands by Japanese or other aliens ineligible to citizenship, in an opinion delivered by Assistant Justice Butler; Justices MacReynolds and Brandeis dissent.

The Philippine Independence Commission appoints Manuel Roxas as sole delegate to Washington to present the Filipino side of the Wood-Quezon controversy.

November 13.—Governor Pinchot invites the Governors of twenty-nine States which are heavy consumers of anthracite coal to attend a convention at Harrisburg, Pa., on November 26, to devise federal legislation to reduce coal prices.

November 14.—The Tariff Commission sets November 26 as the date for a preliminary hearing on the wheat import duty of thirty cents a bushel.

November 15.—William G. McAdoo's candidacy for President in 1924 on the Democratic ticket is announced by David L. Rockwell, of Ravenna, Ohio.

Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, announces that he will run for President in the 1924 Republican primaries on a platform of progressivism and opposing American entry in the League of Nations.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 16.—Bread riots occur in Berlin, and food shops are looted.

October 22.—In Greece, a Royalist revolution is started by Colonel Plastiras and two Generals with the military garrisons of Corinth and Patras.

The Japanese Government admits that over 500 Koreans were killed, many of them without justification, during the earthquake, by Japanese soldiers and vigilantes seeking to prevent looting.

October 23.—The Greek revolution is suppressed.

October 26.—Italy's new law curbing excessive drinking takes effect; it limits saloons, wine shops, etc., to one per 1000 inhabitants (instead of 500), and restricts the hours of sale.

The lower house of the Netherlands legislature votes down the Government's bill for a larger navy, voting 50 to 49; the Cabinet resigns, but the Queen requests the ministers to remain for the present.

October 28.—A new President is elected in Honduras, Gen. Tiburcio Carias (Conservative).

October 29.—Turkey is proclaimed a republic, and the National Assembly elects Mustapha Kemal President for four years and accepts amendments to the new constitution; Ismet Pasha becomes Prime Minister.

November 3.—Bartolomeo Martinez, new President of Nicaragua (succeeding President Chamorro, deceased), forms a Cabinet of Conservatives headed by Foreign Minister José Andres Urtecho.

The Brazilian revolution in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, which has lasted for almost a year, is suspended for a few days by an armistice between President Borges Medeiros of the State and the rebels; Minister of War De Carvalho acted as peace-maker.

November 5.—The voters of Alberta Province, Canada, adopt a proposal for government control and sale of liquor, abandoning prohibition.

November 9.—David Lloyd George, returning from America, is given an enthusiastic reception at London; he advocates free trade, hints at a reunion of the Liberal party, and intimates he would serve in an Asquith cabinet if necessary.

November 11.—Japan cuts the naval budget down 60,000,000 yen (\$30,000,000), but the regular appropriation of 117,000,000 yen still stands, with an additional special appropriation of 105,000,000.

November 13.—The French Chamber of Deputies, convening after a four-months' recess, votes confidence in Premier Poincaré by a majority of more than 200.

Premier Baldwin announces that Parliament will be dissolved on November 16 and new elections held on December 6 to test his protective tariff policy giving preference to the dominions.

November 14.—The Spanish Military Directorate headed by General Primo Rivera procures dismissal of the presidents of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, Count Romanones and Melquiades Alvarez, respectively.

November 15.—The House of Commons, 285 to 190, rejects the Labor motion of censure of Premier Baldwin's Government.

THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

October 18.—Saxony and Bavaria sever diplomatic relations; Bavaria, which is "blue" or Monarchist, is opposed to the "red" influence of Communists in Saxony.

October 20.—Bavaria's military dictator, Dr. von Kahr, defies the Berlin government by appointing General von Lossow Commander-in-Chief of the local Reichswehr (national guard), after President Ebert had dismissed him.

The Socialist premier of Thuringia is quoted as declaring that his State and Saxony also would be arrayed against Bavaria in case of armed revolt.

October 21.—A Rhenish (or Rhineland) Republic is proclaimed at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the region occupied by Belgian troops since the armistice; the movement is led by Leo Deckers, a prosperous manufacturer, and is accompanied by a show of force which meets with no opposition.

October 23.—The Separatist attempt to control Coblenz, in the zone occupied by the French, ends in failure; 300 armed men seize government buildings but finally leave the city in evident fear of the populace. . . . In Aix-la-Chapelle, after a day of rioting between discouraged Separatists on one side and nationalist students and Communists on the other, the Belgian forces restore order.

October 24.—A Communist uprising in Hamburg is put down, but only after fourteen policemen are killed and more than 100 wounded; the Communist losses are 30 dead and 250 wounded.

October 27.—The Berlin government demands of Saxony the resignation of Dr. Zeigner's Communist government. . . . Bavaria is requested to restore the military authority of Berlin by dismissing General von Lossow (who led the mutiny against the Berlin government in the Reichswehr) and replacing General von Seeckt, chief of staff in Dr. Gessler's Ministry of Defense.

October 28.—Saxony's Premier, Zeigner, refuses to comply with Chancellor Stresemann's request that he and his cabinet resign.

October 29.—General Mueller, representing the Berlin government, arrests Dr. Zeigner, Communist Premier of Saxony and the members of the Cabinet; Dr. Carl Heinze is appointed Federal Commissioner or civil governor.

The Rhineland Republic, according to an announcement by Dr. Dorten, one of the several ostensible leaders, is willing to "pay its share of the reparations."

October 31.—The Saxon Assembly elects Karl Fellisch as Prime Minister, having convened by permission of General Mueller.

November 3.—Joseph Matthes, Separatist leader at Coblenz, announces his group will re-occupy Aix-la-Chapelle, from which they were disarmed and expelled by the Belgians; Dr. Dorten, Leo Deckers, and others attend a Cabinet meeting at Matthes' headquarters in Coblenz.

November 9.—In Bavaria, the followers of Adolf Hitler overthrow the Von Knilling government at Munich, and General Erich von Ludendorff assumes command, on his own motion, of the German army; Dr. von Kahr and von Poenner, former police chief in Munich, are made Governors of Bavaria; Hitler proclaims a march on Berlin to establish a Nationalist [Hohenzollern?] government.

President Ebert, at Berlin, brands the Hitlerites

a band of traitors following a recently naturalized foreigner (Austrian), and he states that "crazed persons have begun a policy which can only lead to the ruin of Germany."

November 10.—Ludendorff and Hitler are captured by loyal Reichswehr troops under General von Lossow; the leaders are later released; von Kahr and von Lossow clear themselves of complicity in the so-called "Munich putsch."

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

October 23.—General Jan Christian Smuts, Premier of South Africa, speaking in London, urges immediate convocation of direct representatives of the allied and associated powers in an economic conference to settle reparations on a sound basis without political expedients.

Ambassador Harvey says in a farewell address at London, that "the United States stands quite ready to help in any practicable way to promote the recuperation and reestablishment of economic stability throughout the world."

Americans and Turks open negotiations at Constantinople for settlement of war damage to American private property, treatment of American missionaries, and customs duties.

The United States State Department publishes a note on Tangier, demanding that the "open door" [equality of commercial opportunity] be preserved at a conference about to be called by England, France, and Spain.

The Italian Council of Ministers approves the agreement of May 25 by Britain, France, Italy and Belgium for reimbursement of the United States for the expenses of the Rhine army of occupation.

October 24.—Germany offers to the Reparation Commission a renewal of deliveries in kind, but says that, owing to occupation of the Ruhr, she is unable to resume financing such deliveries.

October 25.—Premier Baldwin speaks at Plymouth, before the Unionist party convention, outlining foreign and domestic policy; he urges that France should not reject the British proposal for a world economic conference with American participation suggested by President Coolidge, and hints at a possible early adoption of a protective tariff.

The inquiry from the British Foreign Office and the American State Department's reply, dated October 12 and 15, respectively, are made public; Lord Curzon asks for American participation, and Mr. Hughes agrees if there is unanimity in Europe but reserves decision if there is not complete harmony.

October 26.—France accepts the plan of Secretary Hughes to hold an economic conference to settle upon the total of German reparations and a plan for payment, provided the commission of experts is appointed through the Reparation Commission under the Versailles Treaty and includes an American.

Premier Poincaré agrees to permit a German delegate to appear before the Reparation Commission to explain the Reich's failure to finance payment in kind.

October 30.—The British Government receives acceptances of its proposal for a joint economic conference of experts from France, Belgium, and Italy, thus securing the requisite unity desired by the United States Government as a condition of its participation; the only hitch is in the insistence

by Premier Poincaré on discussion of Germany's *present* ability to pay.

October 31.—Great Britain agrees to American search and seizure of British vessels suspected of rum-running beyond the three mile territorial limit; the United States agrees to allow British liners to enter port with liquor stores under seal. . . . The Newcastle consular incident is closed, and the two American consuls charged with unfair stimulation of American passenger ship traffic will be returned to British posts. . . . Frank B. Kellogg, it is reported, is acceptable as the American now under consideration to succeed Ambassador Harvey at London.

November 4.—Ambassador Herrick, just returned to his post in France, dedicates a memorial at Navarin Farm, in Champagne, and says, "We have put our hands to the plow and are willing to run the furrow through . . . whether we like it or not, our lot is now cast in with the other nations to a very considerable extent."

Belgium adopts the "Anglo-American policy" on the conference of experts, thus leaving Premier Poincaré alone in his position for limiting discussion of reparations.

November 5.—Ambassador Jusserand confers with Secretary Hughes for two hours, but finds the American Government inflexible for European unanimity and freedom of discussion in the economic conference.

November 7.—The Imperial Conference at London approves the agreement regarding suppression of rum-running off the American coast by British vessels.

Negotiations for the ten-hour day are begun between employers and workers in the Ruhr, upon which hinge the success of the tentative agreement with France for resumption of German industry.

Bulgaria complies with the ultimatum of Yugoslavia by carrying out a rigorous program of apologetic acts intended to mollify Yugoslav pride, wounded by a recent attack upon its military attaché.

The British Imperial Conference announces recommendations of dominion preferences to permit free entry of the following products, with slight duties against foreigners: raw apples, canned salmon, fruit juices, honey, and increases on tobacco.

November 8.—The Conference of Ambassadors demands from Germany a reply to the question whether it intends to permit the Interallied Military Control Commission to resume its duties; it also inquires if German consent has been given for the return of the Crown Prince from Holland.

It is reported that France is ready to lend 1,500,000,000 francs [which would pay 3 per cent. of its war debt to Britain] to the Little Entente; the French Chamber voted 400,000,000 francs to Poland on February 15, then 100,000,000 to Rumania on May 29, and 300,000,000 to Yugoslavia on July 12; all these are reported to be in the form of credits for war material and not in cash.

The Imperial Conference of British Dominions ends; the preference on wines is increased in favor of the colonies.

November 9.—The American Government refuses to participate in the proposed economic conference if it is limited to Germany's "present" capacity to pay, which M. Poincaré says means up to 1930 (the expected period of a moratorium merely); President



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DR. ROBERT A. MILLIKAN AWARDED THE NOBEL PRIZE IN PHYSICS

(Dr. Millikan, a native of Illinois, is a graduate of Oberlin College and of Columbia University. For many years he was Professor of Physics at the University of Chicago. He is now Director of the Norman Bridge Laboratory of Physics at Pasadena, California. The Nobel Prize was awarded especially in recognition of Dr. Millikan's success in isolating the electron.)

Coolidge takes the ground that French limitations would restrict the inquiry to a mere audit and make the conference "wholly futile and useless."

Austrian authorities discover a plot to effect Fascista *coups d'état* in Austria, Hungary, and perhaps Turkey and Bulgaria; Deputy Ulain is arrested, and papers are discovered linking Ludendorff and Hitler with Hungarian reactionaries, who were to be furnished support from Germany.

November 10.—The German Crown Prince (Frederick William) returns to Germany just an hour before an Allied note is delivered to the Dutch Foreign Minister inquiring into reports of his plans for departure.

November 12.—Premier Poincaré proposes a committee of experts to investigate Germany's resources, external and internal, exported German capital and how to bring it back, possible utilization of Reich resources now for reparations, and rehabilitation of German finances.

The former German Kaiser, Wilhelm II, is reported to have received passports for himself and entourage to return from Doorn, Holland, to Germany.

The German reply to the Allied inquiry regarding the Crown Prince questions their right to oppose the return of a German subject to his family in Germany; the Council of Ambassadors refers it to the separate governments.

November 13.—The Reparation Commission notifies Germany to appear in accordance with her request of October 24; M. Barthou proposes an

expert commission to inquire into her present capacity to pay immediately after the hearing.

Chile and Peru present their arguments to President Coolidge, as arbitrator of the Tacna-Arica dispute.

Premier Poincaré proposes to the British Cabinet the joint occupation of a German maritime city, probably Hamburg, to compensate for German refusal to permit resumption of Allied military control, and as a penalty for the return of the Crown Prince.

November 14.—The negotiations between the French occupational forces and the Ruhr industrialists break down upon failure of the Stinnes group to accept three of the twenty-one clauses of the draft of agreement, one of which provided for arrest upon failure to comply with the terms.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 16.—In Oklahoma, floods from the North Canadian River destroy the homes of 15,000 persons; loss to cotton farmers is estimated at \$15,000,000, with millions of dollars' damage to railroads and other property in and near Oklahoma City.

October 18.—David Lloyd George, former Premier of England, visits the tomb of Abraham Lincoln, at Springfield, Illinois.

In northern New Jersey, 310 manufacturing plants plan to close, owing to a water famine due to extended summer drought.

October 19.—The American Legion, in convention at San Francisco, elects John R. Quinn, a California cowboy, as commander, to succeed Alvin Owsley.

October 20.—At the Belmont Park race track near New York City, the American three-year-old colt "Zev" beats "Papyrus," the English Derby winner, in the International Race.

October 25.—The Nobel Prize for Medicine is awarded for 1923 to Drs. F. G. Banting and J. J. R. MacLeod for their discovery of insulin, a new remedy for diabetes.

David Lloyd George visits prominent persons at Washington, D. C., including President Coolidge and ex-President Wilson.

October 27.—Roosevelt House, at 28 East 20th Street, New York City, where Theodore Roosevelt was born, is dedicated on this anniversary of his birth by the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association.

October 28.—The American submarine O-5 is sunk in collision with the *Abangarez* in Limon Bay, near the Panama Canal; five men are lost.

November 3.—David Lloyd George sails for England after a successful tour of Canada and the United States, crowned by his speech at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York on November 2.

November 4.—Lieut. A. J. Williams breaks the world's speed record by flying in an airplane near New York at an average speed of 266.68 miles per hour; Lieut. Harold J. Brow makes three kilometers at the rate of 274.2 miles per hour; in climbing tests, 5000 feet height is attained in one minute.

November 6.—The cause of the Japanese earthquake is analyzed by Prof. Thomas A. Jagger, Jr., volcanologist of the Hawaii observatory, as a four-foot drop in the surface of the earth resulting from activity of a volcano on the Island of Oshima.

November 11.—In France, at the tomb of the

unknown poilu in Paris, a lamp is lighted which living veterans have pledged will be kept alight forever.

November 12.—The New York *Leader* suspends publication; it was a labor organ which succeeded the *Socialist Call*.

November 13.—Dr. Robert Andrews Millikan, of Pasadena, Cal., who first isolated and measured the electron, is awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics.

November 14.—Two gunmen in Brooklyn, N. Y., shoot down a bank messenger and his guard in cold blood and rob them of \$43,607.67 in cash, in broad daylight, at a rapid-transit station.

The Nobel Prize for Literature is awarded to William Butler Yeats, the Irish poet and playwright.

OBITUARY

October 20.—Bayard Tuckerman, of Ipswich, Mass., historian, 68. . . . Justice James J. Bergen, of the New Jersey Supreme Court, 76.

October 22.—Chow Tsu-chi, of Peking, former Premier of China for several months in 1922. . . . Victor Maurel, French baritone, 75. . . . Algeron St. Maur, Duke of Somerset, formerly prominent in British politics, 77.

October 24.—Dr. Boris Sidis, noted psychologist of Portsmouth, N. H., 56.

October 25.—William H. Moyer, well-known prison superintendent, 64. . . . Philippe Millet, noted French journalist and political writer, 42.

October 26.—Charles Proteus Steinmetz, electrical genius, who developed high tension transmission and applied electrical power to every-day use, 58. . . . Richard A. Farrelly, New York journalist, 65. . . . Frank L. Packard, well-known Ohio architect, 57. . . . William Harris, hotel proprietor, 64.

October 27.—Mrs. Rose Woodallen Chapman, writer on social hygiene, 48.

October 30.—Andrew Bonar Law, recently Prime Minister of Great Britain, 65. . . . Dr. H. Freeman Stecker, noted mathematician, 56.

October 31.—Jacques Seligman, widely known Paris art dealer, 64. . . . Leao Velloso, Brazilian journalist.

November 1.—Ernest O. McCormick, vice-president of the Southern Pacific Railroad and long prominent in the development of California, 65. . . . Hamilton Crmsbee, Brooklyn, N. Y. editor, 69. . . . John Edward Stead, British metallurgist, brother of the late William T. Stead, 72.

November 3.—Col. Henry Stevens Haines, of

Lenox, Mass., railroad expert and author, 86. . . . Prof. William G. Ward, Boston author and teacher of English literature, 75. . . . George R. Huntington, Minneapolis railroad president, 55.

November 4.—Samuel Walker McCall, Governor of Massachusetts, 1916-1918, 72.

November 6.—May Preston, actress, 69. . . . Eugene A. Hall, Connecticut banker, 58.

November 7.—Alfred Lee Donaldson, Adirondack poet, 57.

November 8.—John Davey, of Ohio, noted tree surgeon and author of books on trees, 77. . . .



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CHARLES P. STEINMETZ

(Who came to the United States as a young man, handicapped physically but with a liking for mathematics. He lived a useful life in the field of creative electrical engineering, and died at Schenectady, N. Y., on October 26 at the age of fifty-eight)

Edward J. Hathorne, automobile tire manufacturer, 69. . . . The Rev. J. Fred Heisse, Maryland Prohibitionist, 60. . . . Thomas Garrick, actor, 60. . . . George Wharton James, of Pasadena, Cal., explorer of "wonderlands" in the far West, lecturer and author, 65.

November 9.—John Knox McClurkin, D.D., of Pittsburgh, Pa., well-known leader of the United Presbyterian Church in North America, 69. . . . West James Crawford, publisher of the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*.

November 10.—Charles F. Thorley, New York florist, 65. . . . Elon Herman Menden, signal inventor of Elizabeth, N. J., 56. . . . Ethelbert G. Woodford, of Seattle, Wash., mining engineer,

73. . . . Fusakichi Omori, Japanese seismologist, 55.

November 11.—William D. Packard, of Warren, Ohio, originator of the Packard automobile, 62.

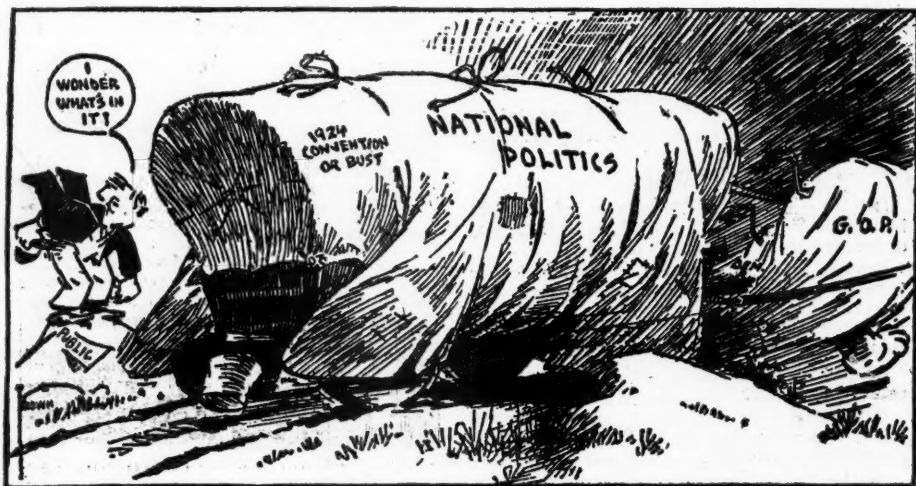
November 12.—Riciotto Canudo, Latin poet, of Paris.

November 13.—Clifford Thorne, noted Iowa attorney, 45.

November 14.—Dr. Albert E. Dunning, editor of the *Congregationalist*, 70. . . . Ernst August Wilhelm, Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg and formerly Duke of Cumberland, 78.



TOPICS OF THE MONTH IN CARTOONS



THE COVERED WAGON

From the News (Chicago, Ill.)

THE pre-convention campaign has begun in earnest. Last month witnessed a definite announcement from Senator

Hiram Johnson, of California, that he will seek the Republican nomination as representative of the forces of progress against



IS MR. PINCHOT SEEIN' THINGS?

From the Tribune (Chicago, Ill.)



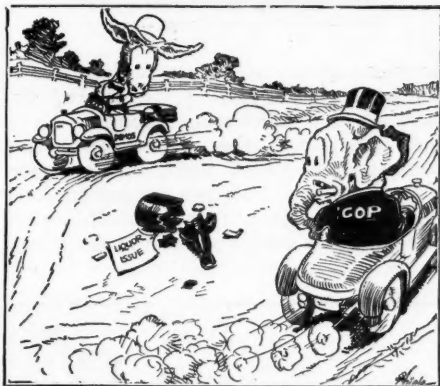
THE FARMER'S OARS REALLY ARE NECESSARY
FOR THE ADMINISTRATION'S VOYAGE

From the Press (Cleveland, Ohio)



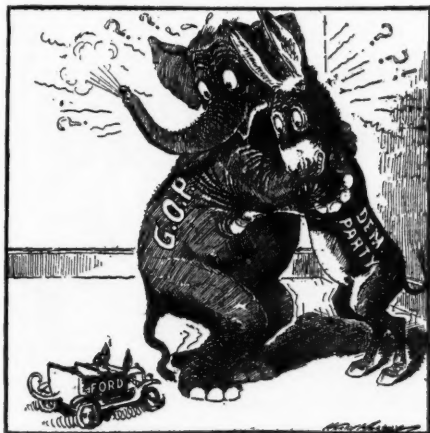
SENATOR UNDERWOOD OFFERS HIMSELF AS A SOUTHERN CANDIDATE

From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus, Ohio)



SAFETY FIRST!

From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)



WHY SO SCARED?

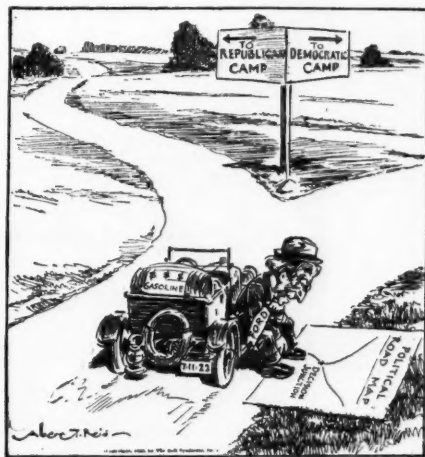
From the *American* (New York)



"I CAN'T GET IN OVER MY DEPTH THIS WAY"

From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

those of ultra-conservatism, as he characterized the present leadership of his party. On the same day Mr. William G. McAdoo—also of California, nowadays—let it be known that he would permit his supporters to place him in nomination in the Democratic convention. Meanwhile Gifford Pinchot, Governor of Pennsylvania, has been



WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

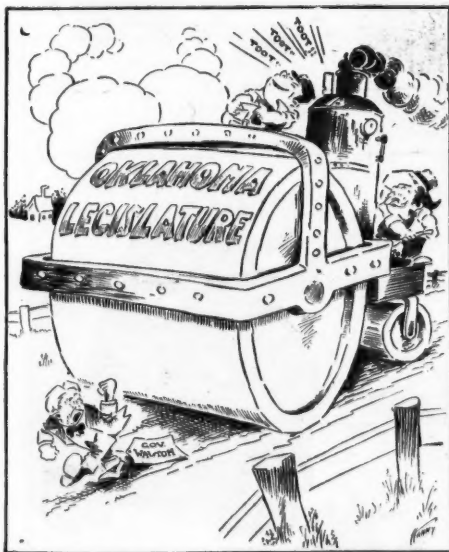
From the *Sentinel* (Milwaukee, Wis.)

**WANTED—AN UMBRELLA MENDER**From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

pursuing so aggressive a campaign for federal prohibition enforcement that many observers believe his activity will make him a candidate before the Republican convention, along with President Coolidge, Senator Johnson, and others. The great

**A HELMSMAN MIGHT HELP SOME**From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)

American game of politics will certainly not be neglected during the coming six months—after which nominations will have been made and the real contest, the presidential campaign itself, will be under way. President Coolidge's message to Congress, early in December, is awaited with interest as the first expression of his views on many controverted subjects.

**"IF MR. COAL-MINER GOT A WAGE INCREASE, WHY SHOULDN'T I?"**From the *Union* (Springfield, Mass.)**A STEAM ROLLER IN GOOD WORKING ORDER**

(As Governor Walton has learned)

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul, Minn.)



GETTING A TRIFLE STALE

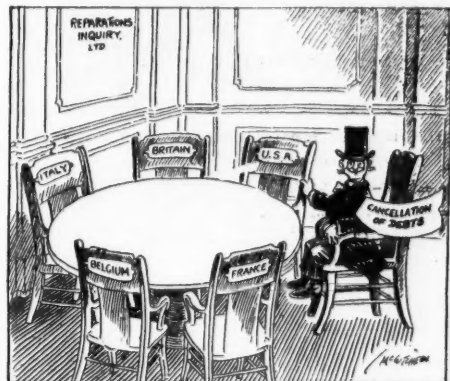
From the World (New York)

For a time last month it seemed possible that the United States might take an active part in the effort to find a solution of the German reparations muddle; but later on it appeared that Mr. Hughes's conditions were not likely to be accepted by France. He barred discussion of Europe's debt to America, in any conference on reparations.



MR. HUGHES AS A MODERN CRUSADER

From the Tribune (Sioux City, Iowa)



HE'LL BE PRESENT, EVEN IF NOT INVITED

From the Tribune © (Chicago, Ill.)



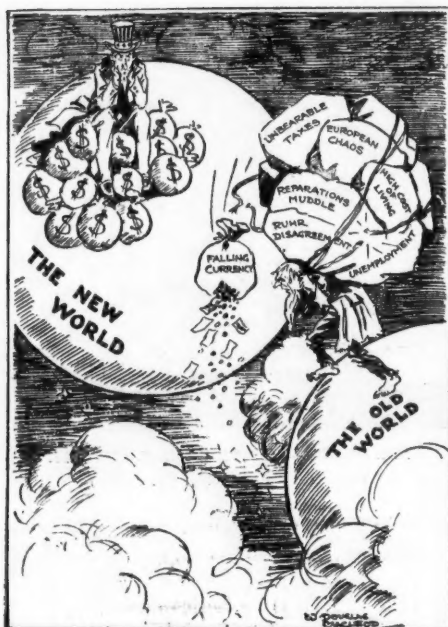
DESERTING A SINKING SHIP

From the News (Cleveland, Ohio)



WONDER WHY HE CAN'T GET BACK?

By Nelson Harding, in the Eagle (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE—AND UNCLE SAM HAS THE BEST OF IT

From the *Evening News* (Glasgow, Scotland)

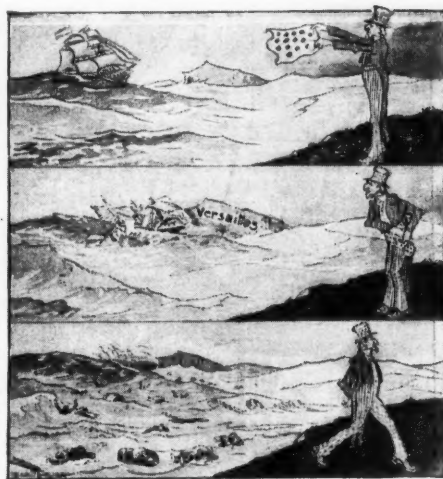
(Besides High Cost of Living and Unbearable Taxes—which some believe Uncle Sam has also—the Old World's troubles include Unemployment, Reparations Muddle, Ruhr Disagreement, Falling Currency, and Chaos)



AFTER THE VICTORY

(In olden times there always marched behind the chariot of the victors a great person who cried about his injuries. At the last Imperial Conference in London Lord Curzon, Britain's Foreign Secretary, renewed his attacks against France)

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



THE FOURTEEN POINTS

AMERICA (after the ship, guided by Uncle Sam's Fourteen-Points signal, is wrecked on the Versailles rock): "I don't interere in European affairs!"

From *Ulk* (Berlin, Germany)



THE END IN SIGHT

UNCLE SAM: "Waal, I guess it's time for me to step in if I want to say I won the peace as well."

From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales)



STANLEY BALDWIN AS BRITAIN'S PILOT

From *Reynolds's News* (London, England)



AN EXAMINATION IN REPARATIONS

EXAMINERS (France, Britain, Italy, and Belgium): "You owe thirty billions to your enemies and pretend you haven't got it! Tell what operations are necessary to bring you to the right frame of mind."

GERMANY: "First, division; then, subtraction!"

From *Il Travaso* (Rome, Italy)



"THE GERMAN RHINE"

"I must clean out the Augean stable of these Separatists"

From *Ulk* (Berlin, Germany)

[The fables tell us that the stables of Augeus, containing 3000 oxen, had not been cleaned in thirty years; but Hercules cleaned them in a single day by turning the river Alpheus through them. This German cartoon represents the Prussian point of view, which was naturally not in sympathy with the effort to establish a separate Rhineland republic along the French border]

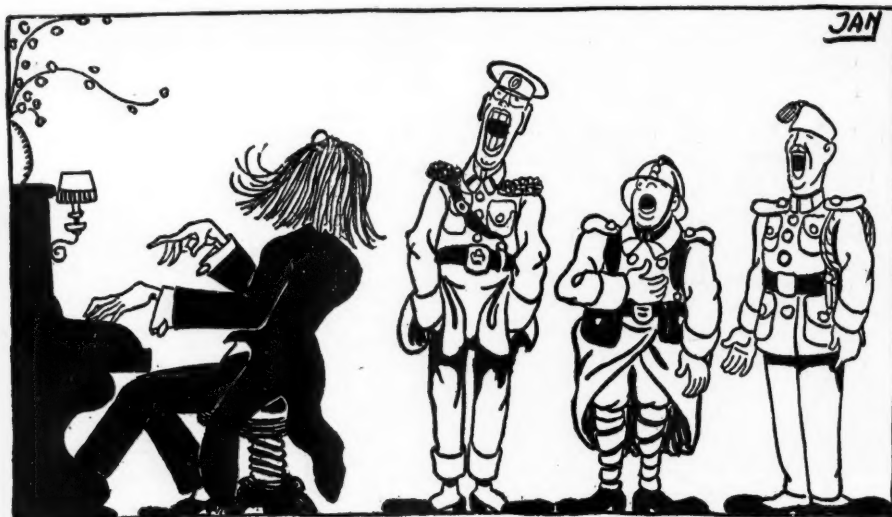


ANOTHER CASE OF KIDNAPING

GERMANY: "Are you stealing my chee-ild?"

FRANCE: "Oh, no! Just giving it a little of its own way."

From the *Evening News* (Glasgow, Scotland)



AGAIN IT IS ENGLAND WHICH SINGS A FALSE NOTE!

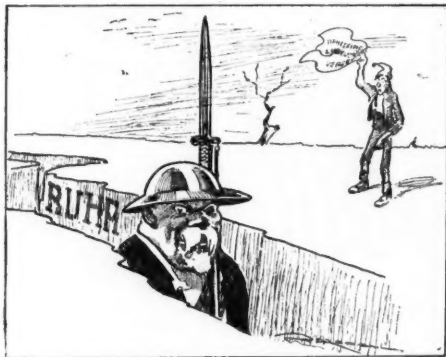
From *L'Eclaireur de Nice* (Nice, France)



THE FRENCH PREMIER RECEIVES A NEW OFFER

POINCARÉ: "What? Propositions? I tell you in advance that they are unacceptable!"

From *Le Peuple* (Paris, France)



STILL ENTRENCHED

POINCARÉ: "Does the German have the nerve to think I am going to leave now?"

From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



STINNES—GERMANY—POINCARÉ

From *Korsaren* (Christiania, Norway)



DETERMINING WHAT THE GERMAN CAN PAY

From *the News* (Birmingham, England)

EUROPE AT THE YEAR END

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. A GENERAL SURVEY

WITH the past month we came to the end of the fifth year since the close of the great conflict. While the past four weeks have been marked by two events of major interest, namely, the Franco-American conversations over an economic inquiry into German capacity and the further dramatic and important disturbances in Germany, it is perhaps worth while, before turning to the discussion of these, to attempt to make a brief general survey of the situation in Europe now as contrasted with twelve months ago.

At the outset of such a survey it must be recognized that—aside from two nations, Great Britain and Germany—all Europe has seen a marked, almost an astonishing economic advance. In the east, Russia has manifestly made slow but unmistakable progress toward economic health. Every report which comes to Washington from Russia confirms this general conclusion. If early in the year an improvement, which had already been marked, for a moment seemed to be checked, as the year progressed the renewed progress was unmistakable. Moreover, not only is the economic progress patent, but, despite rumors and alarums of new military offensives contemplated by Trotzky, Washington and even Warsaw advices continue to agree in discounting any such adventures.

The same recovery is discoverable in the situation of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Succession States generally, while under international control Austria has made a long step out of the abyss in which she seemed hopelessly engulfed a year ago. Everywhere in Europe there has been a good crop, which is the first element in the improvement. If in Poland and Czechoslovakia there have been unequal gains, if the former remains politically troubled while the latter continues to lead the way among the new states, politically as well as economically, yet the gain remains clear in both cases.

Looking to Italy, the progress is little short of marvelous. The dictatorship of Mussolini, which recently observed its anniversary amidst nation-wide enthusiasm, has been attended with an amazing reorganization of national life. Italy, still handicapped by the gravest kind of problems, has unmistakably brought to their solution a new energy and a renewed determination which have already achieved miracles.

As to France, as always in her history, she has been the first of European countries to recover from the consequences of a war in which she suffered most among the combatants. The returns for the first nine months of her foreign trade show great increases alike in imports and exports, but the salient detail is that imports exceeded exports by less than \$100,000,000, while the spendings of tourists within France, largely Americans, exceeded \$300,000,000 on American estimates. Thus France has once more resumed her ante-war position with a favorable trade balance.

Much the same story is to be heard from Belgium, which early showed remarkable powers of recovery. In France and Belgium the restoration of the instruments of production destroyed by the war is complete. The fields and factories have been returned to cultivation and manufacture. And, in the case of France, which suffered far more considerably, a new modern plant greatly expanded has replaced the old plant of 1914.

In Britain, by contrast, the situation is far less satisfying. It would be inaccurate to say that there has been a decline; on the contrary, there has been in certain directions further advance, but the unmistakable fact is that recovery has slowed down; unemployment, while reduced slightly, has continued a grave factor, and the present prospects are that the coming winter will see a new expansion. With more than a million and a quarter of men still out of work, representing, as British statisticians have reported, a total population of between five and six millions, or around an eighth of the combined population of

England, Wales and Scotland, the burden remains terrific.

This British situation is by no means due to any let-up in British efforts to recover; on the contrary, no country has displayed the courage and the financial hardihood of the British in dealing with matters of debt and taxation, but it must be explained by the fact that the purchasing power of the world has not recovered from the war and the German disturbances have continued to weigh upon British interests, although there has been a brief boom in the coal trade incident to the Ruhr shut-down.

The British difficulties have led to new political trouble and the present Cabinet is even now planning a new general election for the purpose of substituting tariff for free trade, and those who have been in England during the summer testify to the fact that there was more visible evidence of economic depression than anywhere else outside of the occupied areas of Germany.

As to the German situation, I shall discuss that at length presently, but it is sufficient to say now that the disintegration, economic, political, even moral, in Germany has proceeded at a terrifying rate. The complete breakdown of the whole monetary system has imposed hardships beyond calculation. The enforced idleness in the Ruhr, enforced by the government policy of passive resistance to the French, has at once reduced national production and compelled increased purchases abroad and thus largely diminished the already restricted resources of the nation.

It is not, however, through any lack of food in the country at the moment that there arises the possibility that America may be called upon to undertake the task of feeding Germans, as we have in the recent past fed Russians. Germany has had a good crop, like all the rest of Europe, and Germany raises upwards of nine months' of her year's requirements. Thus at the moment Germany has sufficient food within her borders, but the difficulty is that with the disappearance of the mark there is no currency which would enable the industrial population to purchase food from the agriculturalists, who decline to part with their products save for something of actual value.

Hunger in Germany, in the main, is not due to economic but to currency causes, just as the currency débâcle itself is not due to the reparations paid to the Allies but to the fatal inflation incident to attempting

to finance the passive resistance in the Ruhr by printing presses. What Germany actually needs at the moment is not contributed food—there is enough in the country—but some stabilized currency which will enable the workingman to buy from the farmer. It is not production, but distribution, which has broken down.

Turning now from the economic to the political situation, the past year has seen material gains in this field, also. The Greco-Turkish War, which at the close of last year threatened to embroil all Europe, has been liquidated through the Treaty of Lausanne. The Turk has come back to Europe and Greece has been compelled to surrender not merely her holdings in Asia Minor but also in Eastern Thrace, and the Maritza River has become once more the European frontier between Christian and Turk. The exchange of populations is going forward and there are to-day gathered in Greece upwards of a million and a quarter of refugees from Asiatic Turkey, whose maintenance constitutes a terrible burden upon the Greek people.

These refugees fleeing from Turkish lands are victims of a war for which they were not responsible and of a policy which was made without regard to their wish and without their participation. They have been uprooted from lands which had been occupied by their ancestors since classical times, and unless there is very prompt and considerable contribution by the world, many more thousands of innocent victims will be added to a list already terribly long.

Nevertheless, the danger of war in the Near East growing out of the Turkish situation has been adjourned, if not prevented permanently. Turkey has come back to Constantinople; the Allied forces have departed; the Lausanne Conference has freed the Osmanli of all of the restrictions and interferences of the past, and Turkey, become a republic, has entered upon a new chapter in its history. Moreover, what is most important, a problem which twelve months ago threatened the peace of Europe has found an accommodation which erases it from present importance.

At the other end of Europe another adjustment has similarly eliminated an almost equally troublesome question. After very long delays and debates the occupation of Vilna by the Poles has been legalized, together with the title of Poland to Eastern Galicia. Thus, with the minor exception of

the Javorina dispute between Poland and Czechoslovakia, the frontiers of the new Polish state have been established. Coincident with this settlement Memel has been awarded to Lithuania and the last parcel of undivided German real estate has been disposed of. It would be inexact to say that the Lithuanians have accepted the Vilna decision in good faith, or that the Germans are reconciled to the loss of Memel, but, at the least, these two issues are no longer troubling Europe and the adjustments which have been made seem fully in accord with the facts in the situation.

There have been and there continue disturbances in the Balkans, in Greece, where the demand for a republic seems to continue, and in Bulgaria, where the assassination of Stamboliisky continues to have serious consequences. The past month has seen a demand made by Belgrade upon Sofia which has called attention to the survival of ancient grudges, but these circumstances have little larger importance now and may be considered as of local significance and details in the normal unrest of the Balkans.

In the past twelve months a single new issue has for the moment troubled the surface of European waters, namely, the Italian occupation of Corfu. But, grave as was the crisis at the moment and bitter as were the feelings aroused, it is not less true that the affair was liquidated with almost incredible rapidity. The Italians are out of Corfu and there is no present evidence of any renewal of the Italian offensive. And, by contrast, there has been a notable improvement in the tone of Yugoslav-Italian relations, which continue to center over the question of Fiume, and there is at least reasonable ground for believing that in the end we shall have an amicable adjustment.

In sum, then, on the economic side there has been a striking progress everywhere on the Continent save in Germany, and this economic advance has been accompanied by a notable, if less considerable, political gain. We have avoided any considerable conflict for the first time in any year since the Armistice. Several unsettled issues of a very troublesome nature have at last had tolerable adjustments. One very grave crisis has been promptly disposed of without any permanent disturbance of European tranquillity. Were it not for the German situation, it would be fair to say that 1923 has been the best year for Europe since the outbreak of the World War in 1914.

It is true and must be realized that in many if not all of the newer or newly expanded states there have been and continue to be political dangers and disputes. This is particularly true in Yugoslavia and Poland and to a less degree in Rumania and Greece. Hungary and Bulgaria are still manifestly unwilling to accept the decision of the Paris Conference with respect to their frontiers. Yet, aside from the Greco-Turkish detail, the map of the Paris peacemakers has stood the test of another year and the sure and steady if slow integration of national life has continued.

Aside from Germany, it is fair to say that it is a healthier, saner and more prosperous Europe at the end than at the beginning of the current year. Beyond question, if only the German question could be resolved, it would be possible to assert that Europe has seen the worst of the present period and, having lived through the evil years of the war and the opening phases of peace, is on the high road to renewed prosperity.

Moreover, while it is still possible that a bad turn in the German situation, a new Franco-German War, might involve all Europe and insure a return of the perils and miseries of 1914-1921, a renewed menace of Bolshevism and a universal disorder, there seems to be a growing possibility that the German phase may be isolated and even the disintegration of Germany, while having serious economic repercussions upon neighboring states, may not fatally disturb the existing order. In a word, it is far from impossible that the coming year, while seeing further decline within the Reich, may, as have the past twelve months, witness further steady gain over all of the rest of the Continent. That, at least, has been the unmistakable phenomenon of 1923.

II. POINCARÉ-HUGHES DEBATE

Turning now to the history of the discussions between Paris and Washington, it is essential first of all to get the sequence of events firmly fixed in mind. When President Coolidge came into office, he made a general affirmation of his purpose to follow the policies of his predecessor, and, in the course of press conferences, this general declaration was broadened by a specific statement that among the policies to which he remained committed, was that laid down in the New Haven speech of

Secretary Hughes, which constituted an offer to participate in some world conference of a financial and not political sort to deal with the vexed question of reparations.

Mr. Hughes made that speech, it will be recalled, almost exactly a year ago, on the eve of the French occupation of the Ruhr and in the hope of preventing that operation. He had held out the prospect of American financiers meeting with European in a gathering which might fix the sum of German reparations and adopt a plan for taking the whole matter out of the field of politics and into the realm of finance.

The Ruhr occupation, followed by the German passive resistance, automatically precluded any such conference. But when the Germans officially abandoned that resistance, then the offer might again have value. In any event, Lord Curzon, reading in American news despatches that President Coolidge had specifically endorsed such a conception, chose to interpret this declaration not as a mere formal assent to one and all of the Harding policies, but as an invitation to new action.

Taken in connection with the final utterance of our Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, Colonel Harvey, the British interpreted it as meaning that Washington was again ready to join in a conference and at once despatched a note to our Government inquiring if this were the case. To this Mr. Hughes replied at once that we were ready either to go to a conference or to assent to the presence of American experts on a special commission acting under the authority of the Reparation Commission.

In his note to Lord Curzon, Mr. Hughes, however, clearly repeated his New Haven assertion that the United States did not recognize any connection between reparations and interallied debts, and the Administration, by reason of the action of Congress, had no authority to cancel or even to reduce the obligations of our European debtors.

On this basis Lord Curzon began to sound out the European allies on the text of a joint invitation to be addressed to Washington. But at this point M. Poincaré entered into the situation. For France he at once agreed in principle to a conference, electing, as was open to him as a consequence of Mr. Hughes's specifications, that the conference should be under the authority of the Reparation Commission. But he then insisted that the commission of

experts should not deal with the question of the complete capacity of Germany to pay, but only the actual or present capacity, which during later discussions was defined as meaning what Germany could pay up to 1930.

In the same way he stipulated that the Ruhr issue should not be brought up, except that he was entirely willing that the commission should decide the value of the Ruhr and its capacity for payment within the same period of time. What he prohibited was any examination of the legality of the occupation—and Mr. Hughes at once conceded that no such examination was in his mind—and also any examination of the bargains the French had made or might make with the Ruhr industrialists. Thus the permanence of French occupation and the terms France might make with the industrialists were excluded.

Meantime Ambassador Jusserand had returned to Washington from France and visited Mr. Hughes, calling to explain in detail what the limitations of M. Poincaré actually meant. We had then a collateral discussion going on directly between Paris and Washington. And, after several exchanges, which amounted to the submission by M. Jusserand to M. Poincaré of interrogations made by Mr. Hughes as to the meaning of M. Poincaré's limitations, we had finally both from the White House and from the State Department the statement that, in view of the limitations imposed, the proposed inquiry seemed futile and the limitations were characterized as frustrating its purpose.

Meantime a debate had been going on between the press of the various countries, while Belgium and Italy had in turn agreed to the conference, with only a slight modification of the original plan interposed by Belgium and generally accepted. This assent, however, was of no real practical value, since the French limitations led to the American withdrawal unless it were possible that later the United States might consent to attend a conference with France left out, a contingency left open in Mr. Hughes's note to Lord Curzon but in practice regarded in Washington as quite unthinkable.

In the debate in the press there was raised another question, which it is important to recognize was never brought into the official correspondence. The Paris press asserted that if the United States Government in-

sisted upon the reduction of the total of German reparations which would amount to a reduction of the French claims, then it could not refuse to consent to a similar examination of Allied debts with a similar result.

Thus the question of the allied debts, while never raised officially, was injected into the debate. Moreover, Italian and Belgian newspapers, while opposing the French policy which seemed to prevent a conference, quite openly argued that the real reason why a conference was necessary was that Americans might be brought in and convinced that it was not possible to dispose of reparations without dealing with debts.

You had, then, a very complicated situation. The public opinion of France, as distinct from Poincaré, insisted that reparations could not be reduced unless debts were similarly diminished, while Poincaré contented himself with declining to submit the reparations totals to a conference. Italy and Belgium, agreeing absolutely with France on the principle of the inextricable character of debts and reparations, opposed Poincaré in the matter of the conference, because they believed that if America came to the Conference to discuss reparations it could be there persuaded to deal with debts also.

The British, as contrasted with the Continental nations, wanted the United States in the conference because they felt sure that if we were present we should adopt British views with respect to German reparations, as we had adopted British views with respect to submarines at the Washington conference and would thus insensibly, perhaps, come to line up with Britain against France in the general European situation. At best this association might make France yield. At worst it would get the British out of a difficult situation, resulting from their isolation and inability single-handed to check French action in the Ruhr.

Now, examining the progress of the discussions, you must see what the various maneuvers were. Mr. Hughes steadily calculated upon the pressure which would be exerted upon France by the public sentiment of the world and by the statesmen of Britain, Belgium and Italy, who advocated a conference. M. Poincaré, appreciating this situation, sought to place himself in such a position before his own public that

the responsibility for the failure of the conference would rest with Mr. Hughes.

He achieved this end, first by the medium of a press campaign on the subject of the debt, secondly by making what seemed to the French material concessions. Both our own President and Mr. Hughes took the position that limiting the field of investigation of German capacity to the years up to 1930 was a fatal handicap. But M. Poincaré presented the solemn fact that he was limited by law and could go no further unless he had the consent of the French Parliament, thus sustaining his position on the reparations matter by exactly the argument Mr. Hughes had presented in excluding interallied debts.

The most difficult thing in the whole world is to establish in the minds of one people not the justice but the mere fact of the point of view of another when a debate is going on. Yet the key of the present situation is all here. To the American people M. Poincaré's course seemed no more than a deliberate effort to destroy the projected conference by imposing limitations which made it futile, while the course of the French press in lugging in the debt question seemed little short of an insult.

This whole view was based upon the assumption that the United States was proposing to do something to aid Europe, to help Europe out of its present difficulties, and that so far from showing gratitude Europe, or more exactly the French, were deliberately putting obstacles in the way of our helping and even seeking to make us pay for the privilege of saving Europe from misery resulting from madness, and mainly from French madness.

Now, by contrast, the mass of Frenchmen believed that the American Government was acting, not in the least from humanitarian or idealistic motives, but purely and simply in the interest of the German market and because of the importance to the United States of selling its surplus products in that market. It further believed—and I am not for a moment suggesting that it is warranted in this belief—that American policy had been shaped by skilful British diplomacy, that Lloyd George and Lord Curzon had succeeded in enlisting American aid for British projects and policies which were clearly hostile to French interests.

Thus we had the curious situation that while Mr. Hughes seemed to Americans patiently striving against opposition to

bring American aid to stricken Europe, M. Poincaré seemed to Frenchmen not only striving to protect French interests against a new assault, but actually making dangerous concessions, in the interest of maintaining Franco-American friendship. In a word, while we thought of the conference as something unselfishly conceived in French interests and saw our actions as wholly without material objective, the French saw their own government as called upon to surrender its own vital interests without any compensation or hope of balancing concession; and, in the end, when M. Poincaré had gone to the limit allowed under French law, saw even these concessions rejected.

Finally, then, and the fact is all here, the French regarded Mr. Hughes as responsible for the failure of the conference project because Mr. Hughes insisted that the conference should deal with matters inimical to France and outside of the limits imposed by French law, at the precise moment when the majority of Americans were holding France responsible for the breakdown and ascribing the failure to M. Poincaré's determination to destroy Germany.

III. THE FRENCH POLICY

The failure of the whole negotiation brought an end to this new American gesture. Explaining that the French limitations made the whole thing seem futile, the United States Government withdrew from the situation. Technically it did nothing but communicate its views to the French and there remained the possibility that the British Government, which had taken the initiative, might continue to argue with the French or might even invite the United States to a conference with France left out, but in reality Washington discounted any such invitation and forecast rejection if it were made.

Now it remains to discuss the French policy which explained the course of Poincaré. Such a discussion is particularly difficult at this time because there is no mistaking the fact that there is considerable American resentment over the French course and a marked tendency to accept French action as indicating the deliberate purpose of France to bring about the ruin of Germany by insisting upon the performance of impossible tasks and by the fomenting of domestic unrest and even of

disintegration as, for example, by lending support to the Rhineland Republic.

Yet it must be clear that while it is by no means necessary to accept the French position as either logical or justified, while it is entirely possible to reject it upon moral grounds and even upon legal, it is nevertheless necessary to see it as a position, as a clear, definite state of mind and to appreciate the fact that we are dealing not merely or mainly with one man, but with a nation, for the strength of Poincaré lies precisely in the fact that he speaks for France.

And in the French mind the first fact is that by reason of their own political or economic interests, both in the case of Britain, the latter in the case of the United States, the two countries which were most closely associated with France in the war are now more interested in aiding Germany to escape payment of reparations, where that payment may involve hardship and even ruin, than they are in aiding France to collect reparations, even if failure to collect spells French ruin. We say that had we not come to the aid of France in the war, she would have been defeated. The French say that while we did bring decisive aid to them in war, we and the British persuaded them to accept a certain kind of peace and then withdrew those considerations which we had offered—precisely the considerations which alone led France to accept the Treaty of Versailles.

In the United States and Britain, a large body of opinion assails the Treaty of Versailles as imposing impossible burdens upon Germany and thus holding out unrealizable advantages to France. But the French say the Treaty represents a sacrifice of French rights. We regard it as an impossible maximum; France holds it an inadequate minimum. We argue that it should be reduced because only a portion of what is allowed France can in fact be paid, but the French insist upon the application because they hold that Germany may be able to pay.

From the French point of view the present German situation is not due to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, but to the resistance of those terms by the Germans. They say that Germany has never been asked to pay on the basis of the 132,000,000,000 gold marks, which is the figure of the Treaty as interpreted by the London agreement, but only on the basis of 50,000,000,000 gold marks, which until

recently, at least, was generally regarded as within the limits of possibility.

By contrast they say that no one can now tell what Germany's capacity to pay will be in, say, 1950, therefore there is no justice in urging a reduction of the totals on the basis of present capacity. The business of any inquiry, they say, is now to find out how much Germany is capable of paying in her present state and let her later capacity await a later investigation.

If, however, the United States and Great Britain, because the German markets are important to them, desire to see a sum fixed now, then France is willing to consent to such a fixation, provided these countries are ready to meet French concessions in German reparations with concessions to the advantage of France in the matter of Allied debts. It is not quite true that France has, as is stated, refused to permit the fixation of German reparations at a sum below the impossible Versailles level. What France has done is to say that while she is entitled under the treaty to 52 per cent. of 132,000,000,000 gold marks, she will agree to any adjustment which enables her to get 26,000,000,000 gold marks and escape liability for her war debts.

Now the British have gone a good ways to meet this French argument. They are entitled to 22 per cent. of the German payments, but they have proposed to accept on account of reparations and debts 14,200,000,000 gold marks, which is the capital value of their debt to the United States. Assuming that German reparations could be fixed at 50,000,000,000 gold marks, then the British would demand 11,000,000,000 gold marks from Germany and 3,200,000,000 from France, Italy and Belgium combined. This would be, roughly speaking, \$800,000,000, whereas their claim on continental countries amounts to more than ten times that sum. They have, then, already proposed to wipe out nine-tenths of their share in Allied debts if France and her associates will consent to a reduction of German reparations.

The French and their associates insist upon a total cancellation, but the proposed reduction is so great that there is not much question that adjustment could be had if the United States were not to be reckoned with. But the United States stands solidly on her demand for her \$10,000,000,000 owed by France, Britain, Belgium and Italy, which amounts to more than 40,000,-

000,000 gold marks. Germany cannot pay 50,000,000,000 gold marks, the sum needed to meet costs of restoring devastated areas in Europe, and 40,000,000,000, the amount of the American claim, although 90,000,000,000 gold marks represents a substantial reduction from 132,000,000,000.

In this situation the French say: "In the Treaty of Versailles the British and Americans agreed to guarantee our security against German attack and the payment by Germany of the costs of rebuilding our devastated area. They have now declined to keep the pledge made by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George as to security and are asking us to reduce reparations, instead of helping us to collect them. Very well, if we are to have no help either in the matter of security or of reparations, then we will deal with Germany by ourselves. We think we can make her pay; we believe that we can insure our own security for a period of years. If the results are unattractive for our former allies we are sorry. If German resistance leads to German disintegration, well, at least that gives us security, even if it reduces reparations.

"In any event we have now seized the best coal deposits on the Continent of Europe and shall be able to operate them fully in no distant time. Our presence in the Ruhr and the Rhineland gives us security until such time as the Germans can drive us out. Meantime, if the rest of the world would like to save Germany from the consequences of her resistance—because it is her passive resistance, not her payments or attempts to pay reparations, which has produced her present sad state—and if the rest of the world believes that to save Germany French claims must be reduced, then it is for the rest of the world to liquidate our rights."

It is true, I think, that no Frenchmen desire to annex any German territory, not because of any profound faith in the moral aspects of the doctrine of self-determination, but rather because the French feel that such annexation, by including German populations, would weaken them. They don't want a disloyal German element in their army and they don't want a protesting delegation in their Parliament.

On the other hand every Frenchman knows that the Treaty of 1648, which put France in Alsace and divided Germany into fragments, rendered France secure and great in Europe, and the Treaty of 1815,

which put Prussia on the Rhine, was the first step in the reduction of France to the position of a second-rate power, which she occupied from 1870 to 1918. Therefore France would welcome the breaking up of Germany into rival small states and would doubtless do all in her power to bring about the creation of an independent Rhineland, including the Ruhr and economically under French control.

Such an outcome of present conditions would give France control of the Ruhr industries, without which Germany could hardly make war and with which, in conjunction with Lorraine iron, France might become a very great industrial power. At the same time the divisions within Germany, the existence of separate states, would give France the traditional opportunity to play Saxony against Bavaria and perhaps Hanover against Prussia. In any event the deadly peril of a united Germany would be banished.

Now, however wicked such a view may seem, however menacing to world peace and economic rehabilitation, looking at it from the outside the fact is that this view will prevail, if it is persistently held by a majority of Frenchmen. In other words, what France does with respect of Germany depends upon French decision and there is no way, with two exceptions by which this outcome can be prevented. These two exceptions are, precisely, force, which means another general European war, and bargain, which means meeting the French terms as to security and as to reparations and debts. In sum, the world can, perhaps, drive France and her Allies out of Germany by war. It can, perhaps, buy the French out of Germany by concessions to French views in the matter of security and debts, but it cannot talk France out, nor can it rely upon the influence of world opinion to get France out by moral coercion, because France is totally impervious to such coercion, since she believes that the morals are all on her side.

IV. THE FUTURE

I am going to discuss the recent disturbances in Germany from the German and world points of view in a moment, but now it is necessary to say a word about the future from the French standpoint. The recent Poincaré-Hughes debate has demonstrated, as did the Curzon-Poincaré debate

before Germany surrendered in the Ruhr, that France will not change her policy on the advice, appeal or admonition of the outside world. France went into the Ruhr despite British and official American disapprobation. She refused to budge under British pressure. She is there now to stay until Germany pays, and M. Poincaré indicated in the Hughes notes that he would not consent to have the Ruhr problem raised.

It is true that the efforts to start a Rhineland Republic have not so far accomplished much. The thing has been a rather sorry fiasco which has injured French prestige. Yet many Germans are frankly fearful that in the end France will be able to force a bargain both with the industrialists and with the workingmen and that a separate Rhineland may seem to the inhabitants of this region the single means of escaping the misery and anarchy of the rest of Germany. Therefore, although its stock is rather low at the moment, it would be unwise to exclude the Rhineland solution from the discussion.

But if there should be a bargain between the French and the German industrialists, then France will certainly get material reparations as a result, including a large and constant coal supply. This may be all the reparations that she ever gets, but her present view is that such a possibility supplies an admirable reason for holding the Ruhr and not for evacuating it, for otherwise she may get nothing.

It is wholly conceivable that in the coming year Germany may undertake to repeat the achievement of 1813 and wage a war of liberation again. If she does she will have to fight Poland, Belgium and Czechoslovakia, for all three would be almost as much concerned as France in any German revival. But the possibility of such a war would not bring about a change of French policy; for Frenchmen would rather fight now, if a fight is inevitable, while Germany is weak, than a generation hence when Germany has recovered. And in all human probability such a war, fought under present conditions, would erase Germany as a great power for a full generation.

If the United States and Great Britain should come forward now with a matured plan which carried adequate financial backing and insured German payment to France of her reparations claim of \$6,500,000,000, and recognized French right to mili-

tary occupation of the left bank of the Rhine until French conceptions of security were realized, either by Allied guarantees or German demonstration of good faith—if, in addition France were freed from the burden of foreign debts, it might be possible to get Poincaré to agree to retire from the Ruhr and accept an international control of German finances and the consequent restoration of German unity and German economic health.

But anything short of such a program, carrying with it the most precise guarantees of payment, would now, in my judgment, be useless as a basis undertaking to persuade the French to change their German policy. Of course this is tantamount to saying that there is no visible solution, for there seems not the smallest indication of any American readiness to underwrite any such program and Britain alone can not do it, for although she has substantially agreed to surrender her claim upon France for war debts, she can not, of course, assume French debt to the United States.

At all events Mr. Hughes's recent proposal was never seriously considered in France because the French never saw in it the smallest benefit to themselves. For them it was one more attempt to save Germany at their expense and just as soon as they were satisfied of its character, M. Poincaré had the backing of his nation in the course he followed. France is ready to listen to advice and to accept help in the collection of money from Germany. She is totally unready to take advice as to any other phase of the German problem.

And so as the year ends the two traditional enemies face each other, with the Germans still determined to resist French terms and lacking in the power to make effective resistance. Ever since the French occupation of the Ruhr German internal conditions have worsened until now the question of the future of Germany is dubious in the extreme. But the onset of misery, the practical demonstration of the inability of other nations to restrain French action has, so far, not convinced the Germans of the necessity of meeting French terms. They still seem to believe that by some miracle they will escape.

On the other side of the picture stands France, stronger, speaking in terms of physical strength, with respect of Germany and of Europe than she has been since the days of Napoleon, stronger perhaps than

she was then, for in the Napoleonic time there was a Russia, a Prussia, an Austria, capable of renewing the struggle after defeat and in coalition with Britain, while to-day Austria has disappeared, Russia is in eclipse, and the economic plight of Britain is such that it can not envisage a new war without recognizing that even if it ended in victory it might spell ruin by further wrecking world markets in which Britain must trade to survive.

Thus France, moreover, mindful of Napoleon's collapse, mindful of all that has happened since, forgetting nothing of the recent injuries, is inexorably committed to the doctrine that Germany must pay or by her resistance so ruin herself as to insure French security for many years to come. Believing it to be a matter of life or death for herself, the contemporary France has refused and will, I believe, refuse hereafter to modify her course save in the presence of superior force or alternative advantage. Crystallization of world opinion against France only serves to consolidate French opinion behind its own government.

The French policy may be illegal, a violation of the Treaty of Versailles—that is a matter for the jurists to decide and they are divided. It may be immoral—and I am trying to make clear the facts and leave the question of morals for my readers to decide. It may be in direct conflict with the material interests of other nations, and this is the view of many Americans and Englishmen, but none of these facts or conclusions affect the present determination of the French to pursue their policy, nor in the smallest degree weaken the French ability to proceed as they have been proceeding in the face of the same situation for a full year.

Contemporary French policy may lead to Leipzig and Waterloo, as did that of Napoleon. This, in the end, is not only possible but even likely. But one must remember that before Leipzig and Waterloo were twenty years of victory, won by a France in isolation in the main; and for the present at least France has powerful allies in Europe, whose fortunes and very independence are indissolubly united with her own. If France falls before a restored Germany, then Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Belgium are similarly doomed and Rumania and Jugoslavia will hardly survive.

To me the present French policy seems one not of deliberate choice, but of practical desperation. I do not believe the

controlling motive is imperialism, militarism, or anything but a grim and terrible determination of a nation which feels itself deserted by its former allies and faced by its ancient enemy, potentially superior and only temporarily weakened. To-day France has power; to-morrow, if she stays her hand, power may have departed, therefore France will not stay her hand save as she sees some other way to guard the future.

But, however one interprets French motives, whatever purpose and principle or absence of principle one ascribes to her statesmen and to Poincaré, who is in fact, a dictator by national consent, quite as clearly as is Mussolini, it seems to me the recent American experience must make clear the fact that any effective intervention in European affairs at the present time must be on French terms and that otherwise no intervention can bear fruit save as it is backed by arms and the will to wield them.

V. GERMANY

The slightest examination of the progress of the domestic affairs of Germany in recent weeks discloses still further complexities and obscurities which make even more baffling a problem that has already become well-nigh incomprehensible. Over the surface of German waters no single steady wind blows setting the waves in one direction and beneath them there is neither tide nor current which can be identified as following a fixed trend.

At the moment there is, first, the general struggle between the Right and the Left, the Conservatives and the Radicals of every stripe, the several reactionary and Nationalist parties are seeking to undermine the Republic, restore the monarchy and rally the nation to resistance against all Allied demands, preaching ever evasion of the Treaty of Versailles, hatred of France and preparation for the war of revenge.

On the Left, by contrast, the Socialists seek to defend the Republic, advocate but very weakly settlement with France, make their real stand rather upon the rights and wishes of labor and of the masses than upon foreign policies or questions. This Left, moreover, covers all the ground between the moderate Socialists and the extreme Communists, extends, one might say, from Weimar to Moscow—in other words, from those who would maintain the constitution of the Republic made in the German city to those

who would adopt the gospel preached in the Russian capital.

Now this general division is complicated by many regional circumstances. France, like the United States, is made up of many diverse sections in which there is a strong spirit of local and parochial loyalty. But neither in France, in America, nor for that matter in England, Scotland or Wales, does the spirit of particularism rest upon any continued tradition of national independence which has survived from the past. Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Hanover, and above all Prussia, have on the other hand, long and brilliant histories as separate entities and have only recently and incompletely sunk their ancient independence in the larger German national loyalty. Moreover, between the several states, which still retain a very large measure of separatism, there is and there always has been a rivalry which has been expressed in many wars and more frequent quarrels.

To-day Saxony is not only divided from Prussia and from Bavaria by contemporary differences, since Saxony is Socialist and Radical; it is not only divided from Bavaria by the once burning question of religion, but underneath the present division is the traditional. Germany has been divided by tribal circumstances, by religious differences. She is now divided by political and economic issues. A radical Rhineland, a Socialist Saxony and Thuringia, face a Junker Prussia and a reactionary Bavaria, while even in Prussia and in Bavaria there are minority parties holding radical views.

Precisely this confusion explains much that has happened recently. Saxony under Socialist control has resisted Berlin, where Stresemann has tended toward reaction. This separatist spirit in Saxony has called forth protest and action from the Berlin government. But the action has led to the retirement of the Socialists from the Stresemann Cabinet. This retirement has been further provoked by the fact that while radical Saxon resistance to Berlin has called forth prompt coercion, even more complete resistance of the reactionary elements in Bavaria has been tolerated.

The Bavarian situation calls for more careful analysis. Bavaria itself is in control of reactionary leaders. It has been the place of refuge of Ludendorff, who is a Prussian and not a Bavarian. It has been the field of operation of Hitler, who heads a Fascist movement. It has also been the

scene of the operations of Von Kahr and Von Lossow, who represent reaction but with a different shade. These latter are rallied to the idea not merely of making Bavaria the leader in a new conservative Germany, of usurping for her the place of Prussia after 1866 and 1870, but also of substituting Rupprecht of Bavaria for the exiled Emperor, William II, or his son, the peripatetic Crown Prince.

The brief and inglorious rebellion which took place in Munich recently was an effort on the part of Hitler and Ludendorff to stampede the Bavarian movement which had been organizing and undertake a precipitate march upon Berlin to restore reaction to control and open a nationalist rebellion against the Treaty of Versailles. It was blocked by Kahr and Lossow, because while both were working for the same general objective, they regarded the moment as inopportune and decided to rid themselves of the undesired leadership of Ludendorff and Hitler. Thus the security of the German Republic was not helped by the failure of Ludendorff's "Putsch," for it was not loyalty to the Republic which led or even contributed to its suppression. On the contrary, the venture fell by the hands of those who were the sworn enemies of the Republic but had other plans, the first of which is the substitution of a Wittelsbach for a Hohenzollern, that is, of Rupprecht of Bavaria for William II or his son, the Crown Prince of Prussia.

In the meantime there seems reason to credit the general impression that Stresemann, become dictator by law and disturbed by the growing menace from the Bavarian direction, sought to divide his extreme Nationalist opponents by calling back to Germany the exiled Crown Prince. Thus it might easily come about that while the Nationalists in Bavaria rallied to Rupprecht, those in Prussia would take up the cause of William II or of his son. You might then have some such division as that which after 1871 insured the survival of the Third French Republic, because, while a majority of members of the French Parliament were Monarchists as opposed to Republicans, they were divided between Bonapartists and Royalists.

In any event, William II, at the moment I write, is reported to be on the eve of returning to Germany. His son Frederick William has already entered Germany, despite Allied protests to the Dutch Govern-

ment. To forecast the immediate future as a result of these recent events would be idle. It may be that the device of Stresemann in dividing the reactionaries will postpone, if not prevent, any attempted restoration of the monarchy. It may be that the Allies, faced with new German dangers, will unite, and the fact that they again present a united front may restrain German Nationalist purposes. On the other hand, it is at least possible that some restoration of the Hohenzollerns may be attempted in the North, while in the South the Wittelsbach adherents will take a similar course.

You must see, then, that Germany has to face the possibility of a civil war between the reactionaries united in support of one monarch, whether Rupprecht or Frederick William, and the Socialists and Republicans. On the other hand, there is the chance of a struggle between the two monarchist parties themselves, with the Socialists and Communists contributing to make it a three-cornered affair. I am not trying to prophesy that any of these things will happen, but only that the possibility must be recognized and discounted in estimating German conditions.

There remains the problem of the Rhine separationists. It is unquestionably true that if France were not in the Rhineland and the Ruhr the separatist spirit would be far stronger, because the Rhineland, at least, has a tradition of local independence and has never been reconciled to the relatively recently imposed Prussian yoke. Moreover, as to the Ruhr, it is industrial, which means that its population is very largely Socialist and in natural opposition to Junker ideas and monarchical rule.

But the fact that France is in the Rhineland and the Ruhr, that, despite official denials, the French army officers, if not the French Government, have aided, abetted and at all times protected the Separatists at once contributes to the progress of the movement and prevents the better class of the population, which might join in the agitation, from participating.

It must be clear, however, that material considerations will later have a powerful influence. The German Government has renounced the feeding of the populations; it has cut off the doles which were paid to the workers who made the passive resistance. It has also declined to pay for the reparations coal which should be delivered to the Allies and, as a consequence, many of

the mine-owners have refused to open their works. This means that in a brief time starvation may enter into the reckoning.

Now, if the French Government, already in negotiations with the mine-owners—negotiations which in certain cases have led to agreement—should in the end make terms with the mine-owners and assume the task of feeding the workingmen, if, at the same time, the general German situation should continue to sink, it is not hard to see that the chances of some form of autonomous, if not completely independent, Rhineland and Ruhr might again become good. This might be true alike because the owners of the vast industrial establishments would be glad to obtain the protection of French armies for their plants and the workingmen would be glad to escape starvation and find in French control a relatively stable currency and an assured food supply.

Again, I am not attempting to forecast events, but only to suggest the possibility of a renewal of the Rhine and Ruhr separatist movement with greater chances of serious success. As I said earlier there is no question of territorial annexation, because the French do not desire to annex German territory, but there is the very clear prospect of the detaching of the Rhineland and the Ruhr from the German Reich and the creation of one or two separated states, politically and economically dependent upon France and Belgium.

Looking at the whole German situation, then, it must be perceived that the process of disintegration continues and even increases in pace. This disintegration is brought about by many things, by innumerable centrifugal forces, ancient tribal and religious differences, new and old dynastic rivalries, the contemporary problems of industrial politics and of Socialism based upon industrial communities and monarchical reaction coming from agricultural regions. All these contribute, while there remains the steady dislocating pressure incident to Allied occupation of the Rhineland and Franco-Belgian presence in the Ruhr.

To survive in a united form, Germany has to pull herself together within her frontiers and present to the enemy, to her conquerors, a united front, not for resistance but for performance within the limits of reason. But instead she is steadily disintegrating and, as she disintegrates, a policy of resistance to the enemy she no longer has the power to resist remains the

dominant doctrine of the most powerful factions.

In this situation we can at least perceive that if Germany falls into civil war, if the Hohenzollerns fight the Wittelsbachs, or if the Monarchists of both factions fight the Socialists, it is entirely unlikely that France, Belgium or Britain will interfere. From the French and Belgian points of view, at least, such a civil war would promise security indefinitely and Franco-Belgian concern would be limited to preserving order and promoting production in the Rhineland and the Ruhr.

By contrast, if the reactionaries, under either a Hohenzollern or a Wittelsbach should gain control, in the nature of things, since the cardinal doctrine of both parties is the destruction of the Treaty of Versailles and the restoration of the Germany of 1914 through a war of revenge or of liberation, as one may choose to describe it, France would be bound to act and she would beyond any doubt call up her recent classes, mobilize and move into Germany, striking either directly for Berlin or first at Munich.

In such an emergency, and given their own dangers, it is hard to believe that Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia would not join in the operation. There, as I see it, lies the present peril for peace in Europe and there it must remain until war comes, Germany sinks back into complete disorganization, or falls into competent hands which will undertake to direct her policies with due regard for her necessities, the first of which is to come to some settlement with France.

Recent events have demonstrated that, even if they would, no outside nations can save Germany, can exercise any useful restraint upon France. As a result of the failure of the British efforts last summer, of the Hughes proposals more recently, Germany at the close of the year faces her ancient foe as completely isolated and as totally defenseless as France after the fall of Paris, following the disasters of Sedan and Metz in 1870-71.

The supreme calamity of Germany lies in the fact that she has not been able, as was France in 1871, to find statesmen capable of facing the cruel truth of the situation or to preserve a national unity, which would enable competent statesmen to impose the burdens and accept the humiliations and sacrifices that would alone make recovery possible.

NANSEN—KNIGHT-ERRANT OF HUMANITY

BY STANLEY FROST

IT HAS been something over twenty years since Fridtjof Nansen came first to America, sailing up New York Harbor to the tune of shrieking sirens and clanging bells. He came then the hero of a great adventure, holder of the record for the "Farthest North"; and thousands turned out to acclaim him. His very presence was colored with romance, the sight of him a reminder that courage, heroism, and fortitude under suffering—virtues which we all hope we have but can seldom prove—were still alive. His message to us was inspiration and renewed confidence in ourselves and in mankind, and we heard it greedily.

Since then he has come and gone unnoticed, and a few days back he came once more, almost unheralded, though he wears new laurels for even greater services, won at no less cost. As high commissioner of the League of Nations and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize last year, he brings this time another message, different yet part of the same high spirit. This is a message of sympathy, understanding, charitableness, and, more than all, of kindness even if understanding fails. He comes, too, on an adventure no less difficult than his others; his hope is to win America to forget isolation, self-interest, and distrust and to go to the aid of Europe. Others have failed in that attempt, to be sure, but that does not trouble him. He has almost made it his habit to do what others think impossible.

"It is just to explain how things are that I have come," he told me. "The thing that the world needs most now is sympathy and understanding. To get that people must know what is happening. But even if they cannot quite understand, they still can have sympathy for suffering; and America above all other nations has shown that she is willing to help suffering. No, I am not asking for money and not particularly for any plan of help—just trying to tell

America how things are, so that she will see that her help is really needed."

A Viking Developed as Humanitarian

In spite of the differences, it is the same Nansen who has come again, a humanitarian who has developed naturally from the young adventurer. His kindly sympathy is a part of his courage. His zest for impossible tasks is what has led him to this mission, just as it led him into the Arctic; and both adventures, and all those which have come between, are dominated by the clear simplicity of a mind which cuts through shams and fears and pretenses until it is convinced that it has found truth and then faces that truth utterly unafraid. Perhaps he has set before him more than is wise in this case—but he has been right very often.

The first glance at Dr. Nansen shows that he must be and do just what he is and does. I think no country but Norway could have produced him. Take a Viking, one of the great stark Norsemen whose voyages in tiny ships form one of the world's greatest stories of adventure. Leave all his heroic strength but soften him with the idealism and devotion which were the best fruits of knight-errantry. Then make him a scientist, clear-brained and loving truth. Add the polish of ripe civilization and the suavity of courts. Nansen is such a man.

He has the body for it, in the first place; a good six feet, with shoulders incredibly broad and a soldier's carriage in spite of his sixty-two years. His leanness is that of the athlete, not of age. He is big-boned, his face weathered and wrinkled, his head high, and the first feeling is that he must just have laid aside helmet and shield in the hall. But the second look shows the scientist. His head—now grown bald, and fringed with white hair instead of blond—is immense. The stern mouth can break into pleasing smiles; the wrinkles around the

eyes show humor as well as strength. And the eyes themselves, a clear almost sparkling blue, changing color with his emotions—these eyes tell that their owner has looked on danger calmly and on suffering deeply moved.

Even brief acquaintance with Dr. Nansen confirms these impressions and adds to them. His conversation shows a courage so complete that it is quite unconscious, a simple directness which cuts deep into each subject, and a sympathy which at first seems to take no thought of justice, till presently it appears to be something higher and finer even than justice. It is the sympathy which gave the command: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him." That is just what Dr. Nansen has been doing; what he wants America to do.

Youthful Adventures

Nansen's adventurings began with his life, for the tale of his boyhood is full of stories of investigations carried out at the risk of life and limb, of cold-blooded daring, of athletic prowess and of great exploits. He is credited with reviving ski-running as a sport for the whole northern world. But it was not till he was in his middle twenties that he performed the first of the feats on which his fame is based. He was then a great hulk of man, curator of a museum at Bergen, famous for refusing to wear overcoats, "an absolute stick-in-the-mud" as he wrote his father, boning for his doctor's degree and dropping all amusements except two gymnastic societies and an athletic club—just to keep fit!

A trip to the shores of Greenland a few years earlier had given him the idea of crossing that vast, terrifying, unexplored island on skis. The only objection was that it was impossible—everybody said so. If one were to have a safe line of retreat in case of failure, which was the common experience, one must go in from the west coast where there were settlements. But then one had to fight his way against high head winds over the bleak central plateau. This was impossible.

Nansen solved that problem in his usual simple way—he decided to go in from the east coast and have the wind in his favor. Of course this left him no line of retreat. He was promptly dubbed a madman, and Norway laughed and refused to give him the \$1,500 (5,000 crowns) he asked for expenses. Finally a Dane, Augustin Gamel,

gave the money, and Nansen started with five companions.

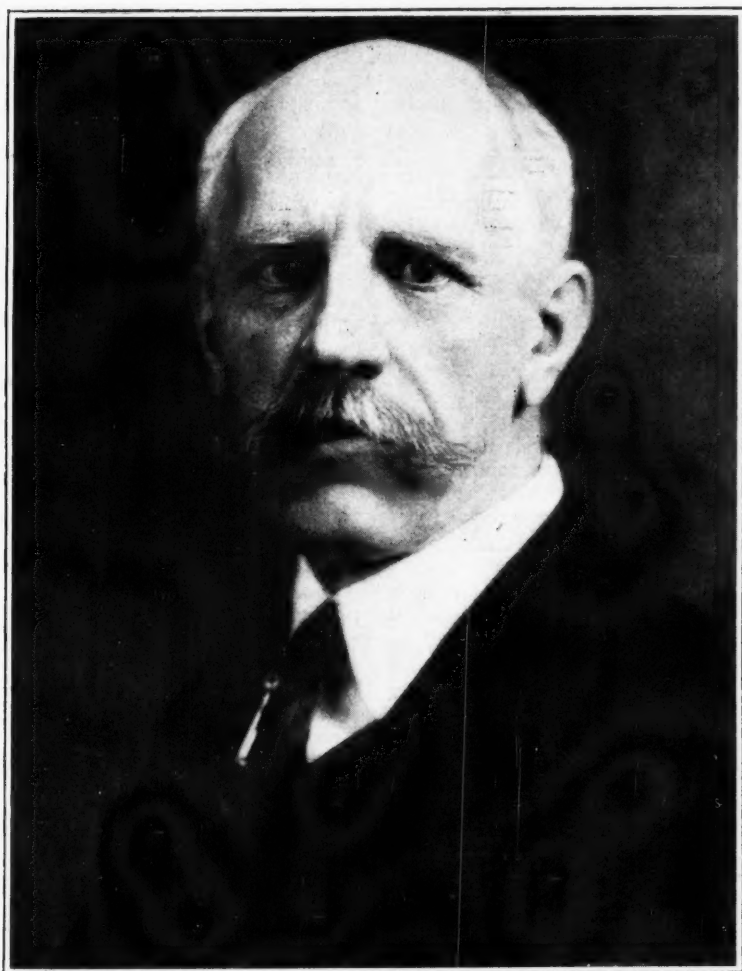
Caution Mingled with Courage

Here another side of his character appeared, a caution to match his daring. His outfit was prepared with the utmost pains. Though the expedition was of a kind never before attempted, his forethought was so complete that nothing which might have been needed was forgotten; and there was nothing useless. The little party was taken up the west coast and put overboard in a boat. It took them ten days to get ashore through the floe ice! There they finally found Esquimaux, and rested a bit before starting inland.

It is characteristic of the man that at this point, when he had cut off all possibility of retreat and must do what no man had been able to do before, or freeze to death in the uplands, Nansen stopped to consider and write down his thoughts on the subject of Esquimaux beauty.

"If we bind ourselves to any established ideal of beauty, such as, for instance, the Venus of Milo, the question is soon settled," he wrote. "The Esquimaux women have little of that. But if we can only make an effort and free our critical faculty from a standard which has been forced upon it by the influence of superstition and heredity, and can only agree to allow that the thing which attracts us and on which we look with delight, for these very reasons possesses the quality of beauty, then the problem becomes much more difficult of solution. I have no doubt that, were one to live with these people for a while and grow accustomed to them, one would soon find many a pretty face and many an attractive feature among them." And this was written in the face of what everyone told him was certain death!

There is no need to tell in detail the hardships and suffering and heroism of that trip. It was Nansen's personality and courage that carried the party through. It took twenty-eight days to get to the top of the inland ice; for weeks the six men dragged their sledges through a temperature reaching 49 degrees below zero, through wind and snow flurries. "It was not always agreeable," Nansen wrote. "The beard would freeze fast to the head coverings, and it was hard to open the mouth to speak." Near the end his fingers were frozen; and for once he uses strong language. It was "almost



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DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN, OF NORWAY

(Arctic explorer, advocate of peace and of the League of Nations, and tireless worker in the cause of humanity throughout present-day Europe)

intolerable pain," he says. Knowing him, one concludes that it was at least that.

After they had passed the summit they rigged sails on their sledges and were repeatedly knocked down when they tried to start the unwieldy things. "After this process had been gone through with a number of times," he solemnly comments, "we saw plainly that all was not right." But they finally learned the trick and, in spite of falling into crevasses, managed after seventy days of hardship to reach the coast. They built a clumsy skin skiff, Nansen and one companion reached a settlement after a

hair-raising trip, and an expedition was sent back for the rest.

There was tremendous applause for the feat, which was finished in 1889 when Nansen was only twenty-eight years old. He regretfully settled down once more, this time as curator of the Museum of Comparative Anatomy at the University of Christiania. During that period he married, and celebrated his wedding by taking his bride—a famous ski-woman—to the top of the Norefjeld, some 6,000 feet high, on New Year's Eve of a bitter Norwegian winter. They got there after dark and got

down near midnight after hairbreadth escapes during which, he confesses, his conscience was a little troubled about his bride. But she lived through it, as his men have all lived through more serious adventures with him.

Voyage of the "Fram"

Very shortly he formed the theory which he soon proved at the risk of his life by the famous voyage of the *Fram*. Driftwood from Northern Siberia came ashore on the west coast of Greenland. To his simple mind this meant that there was a comparatively warm current from the Siberian coast which must pass almost exactly over the Pole. This in turn suggested an equally simple and direct test; not less attractive because it was highly dangerous. It was to build a ship so strong that it could not be crushed by ice pressure but would be forced up to the surface of the floes, to let it be frozen in and to drift with it across the whole Arctic circle.

In these days, when the thing has been done three or four times and Nansen's theory is fully established, it is hard to realize the scepticism and ridicule with which the plan was received. General

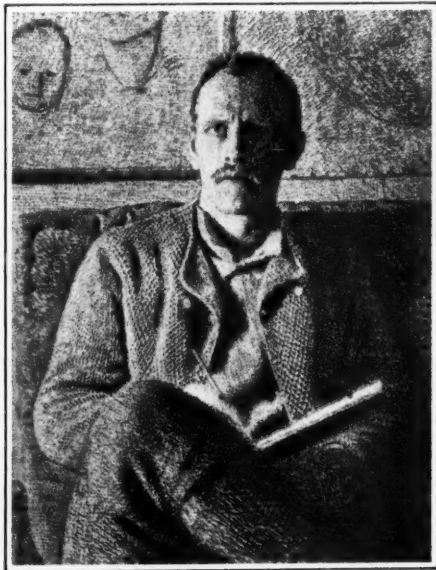
Greely, the American explorer, referred to it as "Nansen's illogical scheme of self-destruction;" and other scientific men were almost as caustic. At a dinner of scientists and explorers in London to discuss the project, the speakers vied with each other in condemning it, and several declared that Nansen's ability and attainments were far too valuable to be thrown away in such a wild-goose chase. It was pointed out that there was no possibility of escape if his theory failed.

All of this troubled Nansen not at all. He replied that he had won before by burning his bridges, and went ahead. From various sources he raised \$120,000, and he spent three years in preparations. Most important was the building of the *Fram*, now one of the most famous vessels in history. She was only 128 feet long, but had sides 24 to 28 inches thick, with iron rods for strength and also to act as skids when the ice closed in. At this job Nansen worked in such a way that visitors who had been brought to see the "distinguished scientist" complained that they had been cheated. "They said that I worked like a common laborer and looked worse than a pig. Unfortunately there was no defense," he remarks. But he got the ship ready, not forgetting books and music enough to keep his crew amused during their long imprisonment.

Approach to the Pole

The *Fram*, which had among her crew Captain Sverdrup, one of the heroes of the Greenland expedition, and a young man named Amundsen, a hero of adventures yet to come, made her way to the coast of Siberia and entered the ice on September 20, 1893. It was not hoped to reach the Pole but merely to test the current theory and "investigate the unknown regions which surround the Pole." The *Fram* "surpassed our boldest expectations" Nansen reports. The ice closed and opened twice a day, lifting and dropping the ship several feet without injury. So the trip was made in comparative comfort in spite of temperatures of 63 below. Scientific observations of the greatest value were made and it soon became clear that unless some catastrophe occurred the ship would in due time reach warm water as planned.

But here Nansen's love of adventure came to the surface again. Things apparently were boring him, and it had become apparent that the ship would not pass within



NANSEN THE EXPLORER, IN 1893

(Mr. Nansen organized an expedition, just thirty years ago, to test his theory that a vessel in the Arctic ice north of Siberia would drift across or near the Pole. At that time he reached a point within 272 miles of the Pole nearer than any other man had ever been before him.)

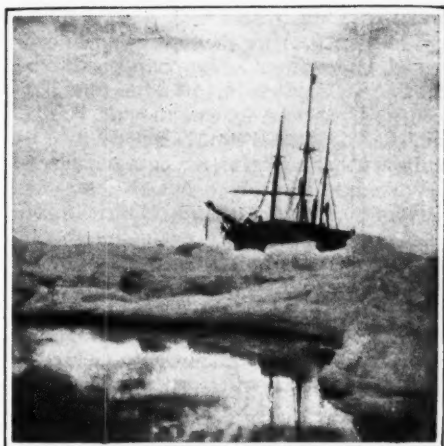
three or four hundred miles of the Pole. So he took a single companion, Lieutenant Johansen, and with three dog sledges started out to "examine the sea to the north of the ship's course." They could never hope to find the ship again in that frozen waste, so once more he cut himself off from his base and headed for the Pole.

It was a hideous trip. They had hoped for smooth ice but found none. The temperatures were terrific and they had abandoned their warmest clothing for the sake of speed. They very nearly froze, and after twenty-eight days had to turn back. They had then reached $86^{\circ}14'$ north, or 184 miles nearer the Pole than any one had yet penetrated. Nansen's story says nothing of disappointment at turning back—it simply was necessary.

The Return Journey

Even Nansen's love of trouble ought to have been satisfied on that trip back. They expected to find "Petersen Land," where there might be game, but didn't because there was none. So they headed for Franz Josef Land. They abandoned their sledges and took to skin kaiaks and daily escaped death in the ice floes by inches. Once their kaiaks got adrift with all their food, clothing, weapons, everything, and Nansen swam two or three hundred yards through the icy water after them. Of course he almost died, but he took it in the run of the day's work.

Finally winter overtook them—lost, out of food, and half starved. They found a



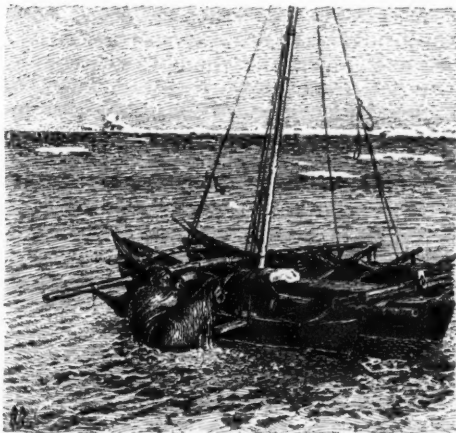
THE "FRAM," FROZEN IN THE ICE PACK TO TEST THE ARCTIC CURRENT THEORY

(The Nansen polar expedition left Norway in September, 1893, and did not reach home until August, 1896)

herd of walrus and killed many, later adding some bears. These furnished food, fuel, clothes, and shelter. They built a hut of stones, snow, and walrus hides, with a chimney of ice which Nansen complains had to be renewed every little while. They had a simple menu; stewed bear and fried walrus one day, stewed walrus and fried bear the next. They slept in the same bag to keep warm, on a couch of stones so uncomfortable that "our most important business throughout the winter was to bend the body into the most varied positions in order to discover the one in which the pressure of the stones was least felt."

But they lived through, got under way again in the spring, and presently met F. C. Jackson, another Arctic explorer with a well-equipped expedition, in Franz Josef Land, and came out with him. The *Fram* came through a few weeks later. On their arrival in Christiania, in August of 1895, Dr. Nansen received honors such as are seldom given. He spoke before scientific societies everywhere, later lectured in America, and formed the friendships and contacts which have made his later work possible. But he soon retired to his study, and for years devoted himself to "his oceans."

The first break in this work came in 1905-6 when the separation of Norway from Sweden was agitated. "There were plenty of people to tell Sweden's side of it," he explains, "but no one to speak for Norway. Some people had heard of me and



NANSEN RESCUES HIS KAIAK

(Alone in the polar region, except for a single companion, Mr. Nansen saw his boat drifting away; there was nothing to do but swim out for it)

would listen to what I said, so naturally I had to do it." After the separation he continued, largely because he "happened to be known" he says, to help in the establishment of the new kingdom, and was its first minister to Great Britain. But by 1909 he had gone back to his instruments and charts.

When the war broke out, Nansen was studying currents around Madeira. He was promptly drafted again for public work, and those Madeira notes have not yet been worked up. His first task was to secure food for his country; the Allies were afraid to permit supplies to go there, for fear they would be sent on into Germany. Diplomats had failed to settle the question—it was one of those impossible things—but Nansen came to Washington to take over the negotiations; and his mastery of facts and simple straightforwardness won. Other questions were given him to work out, he did much for the comfort of prisoners of war, and when the peace conference finally met he was sent to Paris as Norway's representative. He was one of the first and strongest supporters of the League idea.

Work for Prisoners of War

One of the curious oversights of the Treaty of Versailles is that it made no provision for the return home of prisoners. There were something like a million of them, scattered all over Europe. To get them home required arrangements between nations, and there were no diplomats with authority to make arrangements. The League took it up, but had no funds for the work, except for administration. It was another "impossible job"; naturally they made Nansen High Commissioner.

Quite as naturally he undertook it. The great problem was with the men in Russia and the Russians in Germany and Austria. He tried diplomacy and it failed. Then, direct again, he went to Moscow and made an arrangement with the Soviet, basing his campaign on simple decency and humanity. What is more, they kept their agreements, though he admits he hardly expected it in view of their own troubles. But trainload after trainload of men were, somehow, brought to the border, and so sent to their homes. The Russians in Germany who wished it were also returned. Ships were used in the Black Sea, more ships from Vladivostok. Altogether some 400,000 men were cared for. It was a tremendous achievement, built out of nothing.

Caring for Russian and Greek Refugees

Even before it was finished there were other troubles for him. First was the Russian famine, and he administered relief from Europe as the Hoover forces did that from America. Then there were the thousands of Russian refugees scattered over Europe and around the Mediterranean. Again there was no money, but he undertook the job, basing all his plans on his belief that he could depend on fundamental decency and kindness in all people. He made England finance part of the work. She was supporting some 4,000 or 5,000 in Egypt and Cyprus, and he offered to take them off her hands for 150,000 pounds. She jumped at the chance. "I was foolish not to have made the price higher," he told me—and he made 80,000 pounds profit. With this he broke up the refugee camp in Constantinople, finding homes for the Russians in Bulgaria and Rumania. The story of this work is too long to tell, but it makes a little thing like reaching the North Pole seem simple and easy.

Nansen even sent several thousand of the refugees back into Russia. There was a great outcry over this; he was delivering them over to the Reds to be massacred, people said. But he had a promise from the Reds that such of the refugees as were admitted at all would not be molested. Some of them have been back for over a year now, and only one has been killed. That murder, Nansen believes after careful inquiry, was committed by bandits and not by Reds.

After the Russians came the Greeks; and the League called upon Nansen to care for a million people driven from the Pontus and dumped down into little Greece, already crowded and demoralized. The task seemed hopeless, but money dribbled in, farms have been found for many, and a plan was worked out that will establish all in new homes. This will take another year and a half and will cost \$2,000,000 or more, but he considers that the crisis has been passed. He has faith that the money will come somehow. I suspected that part of his errand to America was to raise this, but he said not.

"That will be taken care of, I'm sure," he smiled. "There is more important work, even, to do now."

But it was in regard to Greece that Dr. Nansen showed the only flash of resentment during my long talk with him. Greece is so poor, he said, so burdened! "And those

50,000,000 drachmas that were grabbed by that—" He paused and brought himself under control "—that were taken by Italy," he went on. "They ought to have gone for feeding those starving, homeless, miserable people."

Nansen's "Theory of Kindness"

All this, the work he has done and the suffering he has seen, has left its mark. Dr. Nansen is not the man to enjoy satisfaction over any achievement so long as anything remains to be done. So there is set endurance around his mouth, pain behind the eyes, and a weariness all over him. But it has not become either discouragement or lack of faith. Discouragement could never be more than a passing shadow for that kind of man, and his faith, I think, could never be clouded.

Dr. Stang, when he made the speech giving Nansen the Nobel Peace Prize last year, drew a simile which cannot be improved. He declared that just as Nansen in 1893 found a current in the Arctic which others doubted, so to-day he has discovered a current of sympathy and pity running between nations in spite of all hatred and suspicion on the surface. Nansen has staked everything on his theories, and has won largely, if not perfectly, so far. Now he is testing that same theory of kindness here. It is because of that faith that he is merely telling us about the distress in Europe, instead of asking money.

His Fears for Germany

Of the three great danger spots in Europe, Dr. Nansen believes that only Germany calls for much anxiety any longer; not that the others are cured, but that they are on the way to cure. Russia, he believes, can soon take care of herself and will develop steadily. He is confident, too, that the plans under way will save the Greeks. But conditions in Germany cause him the deepest foreboding.

"It is not merely political revolution and dismemberment that is going on there," he said. "Everything is breaking down; morals and character and industry and life itself. No one who has not been there can possibly understand the pressure those people are under. The farmers are prosperous enough, but in the towns it is horrible. There is nothing to buy food with, nothing to save, nothing to depend on from one day to the next. People seize food by force when they

cannot buy; in some cases even soldiers and police have given up the job of protecting food stores. The people were too strong for them. Arrests make no difference. The very foundations of life are crumbling away.

"The danger is to civilization itself. I do not believe so much in the talk of revolutions by the Left or Right. A good deal of that is bluff, to scare the rest of the world. The government probably can control it. But it could not control the break-up that may come from starvation. That would be a mass movement, not political nor revolutionary; simply intolerable distress. I am afraid that will happen unless something is done very soon—if it is not too late already."

"But you say there is food there, and goods," I objected.

"Yes, it is not so much that Germany does not possess what she needs as that affairs have got beyond her control. Without money, goods and food cannot be exchanged; Germany cannot manage herself; and what she needs is help to do that, more than charity. She ought to have it, not only to save her but to save the whole world, for if she does go to pieces the effects would be disastrous to the whole world. The rest of us need Germany's goods and her markets, and they would both be gone. There would be nothing left except hate that would break out in some new horror when the chance came."

"Many people in America believe that Germany has done all this deliberately," I said. "They believe that she is a dishonest bankrupt, pretending poverty, deliberately debasing her currency, encouraging disorganization, to avoid paying her just debts."

"Yes," he said. "Yes, that's true. At least it was true at first. I think she did that. But she did not intend to let it go so far. She wanted a pretended ruin and has got a real one. Now she cannot save herself unless the outside world takes hold."

"But it must not be with hatred toward France," he hastened to add. "Now that Germany is in distress a good many people are blaming France. France did try the wrong policy—the European troubles can never be cured by mere force—but people forget what Germany had done to her and to Belgium. They forget how Germany ruined the mines and stole the machinery from the factories, just to destroy the economic strength of those two countries. Germany has that machinery yet!

"France was entitled to reparations; she is still entitled to them. Germany ought to pay." He was very emphatic. "But she can't pay now or until she gets on her feet again. And when we are face to face with a catastrophe like the ruin of a great nation, then saving her becomes for a while more important than reparations—you might almost say that it is more important even than justice. Besides, it is the only way to get justice in the long run."

"But is there any sign that Germany has changed, that she would be any more willing to pay if she were helped back to her feet than she was last fall?" I asked.

"There would have to be guarantees, of course. The other nations could make sure of them beforehand. They could lay down the terms that Germany would have to meet if they are to save her. And they would be in a position to see that they were carried out. It would have to be a kind of international receivership, something such as the League of Nations established over Austria, with power to reestablish the currency and put the country on a sound basis."

"But will Germany accept any such terms?"

Dr. Nansen hesitated and for the first time a cloud came over his face.

"Well," he said finally, "if she didn't, at least we would have done all we could. That is one reason why America ought to help—because she has no hatreds such as they have in Europe, and Germany would be more inclined to trust her. That is even more important than the strength America would bring to the task—and it is a tremendous task. But if, after all, Germany didn't accept, or if the help comes too late, then

all that the rest of us could do would be to take measures to protect ourselves from the results of the disaster.

"It would be very serious. There would be no reparations, and all of the things that depend on them, such as your foreign debts, would all be in confusion. The future of the world would look very black indeed. And the suffering in Germany would be horrible—horrible."

As he talked it seemed clearer and clearer that it is the suffering that really matters to him, especially the thought of starving children. The economic features seemed to be important because of what they mean in food and shelter to millions in the German cities. His arguments about reparations and the danger to the rest of the world, his appeals to self-interest, seemed just arguments, made because he thought they were needed. He believes them beyond any doubt, but the thing that counts with him, personally, is the suffering.

As I was leaving I asked about his scientific work, and how he felt about working with people instead of with oceans. His face lit up as it had not done over anything else.

"One has to do what needs to be done," he smiled. "But I hope that this work is about finished. A few months more, at the most. I have the Madeira data still to work up, and I want to write a book about it. After that there are several interesting things, like—" he checked himself. "I think I can get back at them very soon now," he concluded.

So he is still the same Nansen, you see; answering the calls upon his chivalry that come to him, but longing always for his first, viking love, the oceans.



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UNDER DR. NANSEN'S SUPERVISION, A MILLION GREEKS ARE BEING TRANSPORTED BACK TO THEIR HOMELAND AS A RESULT OF THE DISASTER IN TURKEY

REAL GOVERNMENT IN SPAIN

BY CHARLES H. SHERRILL

[General Sherrill is a distinguished New York lawyer who has traveled extensively abroad, on such widely divergent missions as those of a diplomat, a promoter of international athletics, and a lover of stained-glass windows. He was in Spain while the old political régime was being turned out of office by a group of generals in the army; and the present article is the natural result of a keen American observer seizing an opportunity to meet the man of the moment in Europe, General Rivera.—THE EDITOR]

"THE King is much pleased" (*esta muy contento el Rey*), said the new Spanish Dictator, with much emphasis and more than once, during my conversation with him in the Presidencia at Madrid ten days after he seized the government. Evidently General Primo de Rivera was highly delighted, both with the success and with the unanimous popular approval of the stroke by which he had swept away all the old professional politicians and then started in to clean house. But clearly for him the most satisfactory feature of the whole affair was the approval of the popular young King. Most Spaniards will tell you that if monarchy were replaced in Spain by a republic, His Majesty would be elected the first President! It is quite clear that Alfonso XIII is firmly decided to re-create a cleaner political system in Spain; and so it is but natural he should regard with approval such a house-cleaning as is now under way.

What sort of personality is this Dictator—this new figure in European politics? How far, for instance, does he resemble his Italian prototype, the now widely known Mussolini? This particularly interested me because, not long before, I had had two talks with that mighty regenerator of Italy. Here is my answer: General Primo de Rivera represents about as dissimilar a type from Mussolini as could be imagined; and in every way he has acted differently from that founder of the New Italy, as all the Fascisti love to call their movement.

The Dictator seized on a comment of mine upon how essentially Spanish in conception, in execution, and in development his stroke had been. "Yes, that's it," said he; "entirely Spanish, and it would have been impossible of success had it not been so Spanish in this intensely patriotic country."

No one realizes more than he that the

real significance of this stroke, and of its instant success throughout Spain, is that Spaniards have now leaped forward to join France and Italy in the renaissance of the Latin races, a phenomenon that has aroused the admiration of the world. In the late War, France came into her own and taught us the meaning of a new word—Verdun. It needs no translation anywhere to explain that Verdun means national defense of the highest order, manliness of the most reliable type. Then Italy, the New Italy, blazed out; and her Giovinezza of Fascismo burned away accumulated political dross and revealed a new and sterling patriotism, thanks to the great Mussolini and his mates.

And now comes Spain, aroused from her long sleep of indifference by a gallant soldier, approved by a patriotic sovereign. Overboard goes all the outworn political tackle, with its graft and its grafters alike, amid the acclaims of the entire Spanish people.

A Comparison with Mussolini

As for the differences between the two men, let us mention, in the first place, that the Spanish General is the Marquis of Estella. Therefore he comes from a very different social grade from that of Mussolini, the son of a blacksmith. The Marquis started with the same sort of political handicap (so some would call it) as did our Theodore Roosevelt. But manliness counts no matter how high or low the social position. His uncle, General Fernando, so distinguished himself in his attack on the Carlist stronghold and capital of Estella in 1877 as to win that title from his grateful King. The present Marquis of Estella showed equal gallantry in Morocco in 1893, gaining thereby what is called the Spanish V. C. He has been a member of the Senate and lately the Commanding General in Catalonia.

The next difference is that the Spanish Dictator is of an amiable disposition and the sort that smiles pleasantly at hard work. He takes no pains to conceal his light-heartedness. Mussolini, on the contrary, prefers to have his photographs show him stern-faced, and loves to glower at all and sundry about him. Primo de Rivera has a useful sense of humor, but he can use it caustically if necessary.

Attacking the Padded Payroll

Madrid has not yet finished laughing over one of the first moves of the new Government. Perhaps the whimsical humor of the Dictator realized this in advance—who knows! It had been common knowledge that official payrolls were grossly padded with names of men who appeared only on payday. But when the Directory ordered that everybody on the payroll should attend daily at the office yielding his pay, the ministries were packed with people for whom there were neither desks nor seats, and many of them whose faces were not even known.

It is not generally known that every Spaniard who ever served in a Cabinet, even if only for a day, drew a pension for life. Already the newspapers are full of announcements that ex-Senator D. or former Minister Z. has voluntarily relinquished his pension—laughed out of it! But along with this laughter have come huge economies, many millions of pesetas a year.

The General told me, with much gusto, of the American Ambassador calling him a real Yankee General. He liked it, and he showed it. It is fortunate he has such an engaging personality and equable disposition, for the crush of business at his headquarters would soon break down any man who worried. The room outside his office was crowded with men, come singly or in groups, to offer their political assistance, or in response to a summons.

Spain's "Minute Men"

The General is very modest about the preliminary steps that had to be taken before his enterprise was launched. "Certain groups (nucleos) had to be formed," said he, with a smile and a shrug. And just at this point enters one of the most interesting features of this whole amazing business, for here we come to the "Somaten." Here is a word that until a fortnight ago was almost unknown in Spain

outside Catalonia. It has an especial claim upon American interest, for it is a modern echo of the Minute Men who fought at Lexington, as we shall presently see.

Mussolini formed his Fascisti groups, and by assembling them gained the force which is the backbone of his movement. Force, he declares, is essential to efficient government. But the Spaniard needed no other display of force than the army, the coöperation of whose leaders he gained by forming the nuclei of which he spoke so carelessly. But what next? Would he continue to rely on the army alone? Make no mistake, this is no military *coup d'état* by a Spanish Napoleon seeking to rule in place of the people. The Spanish are too democratic in spirit long to tolerate such a man, and this particular man knows it. No, he intends to rely on the "Somaten," loosely organized popular groups, ready to answer a call to arms when needed.

"Somaten" is a Catalan word, akin in meaning to the Spanish *somos atentos* ("we are ready"), and it has long existed on the east coast of Spain. Some Catalans say it means "ringing of the *So*" or tocsin. These groups of local patriots needed only a special ringing of their church bell to assemble in the town square, ready to repulse an invader, put out a fire, or dispatch any other duty of a citizen. The new Directory is organizing these Somaten groups all over Spain. It may take some time to teach Galicians and Andalusians what every Catalan knows—the usefulness of the Somaten—but it will come. Also, there must be public-spirited leaders enjoying local confidence, men like the Catalan Baron de Guell, Señor Franch, and Count de la Vern.

The most amazing feature of the *coup d'état* has been the unanimous approval of the populace throughout all of Spain.

Forestalling a Red Revolution

But our picture is only half painted if we content ourselves with showing a house-cleaning of Spanish politics, for there is a vastly more serious side to the movement. It is no secret that there was in preparation a far more sinister revolution—one by the same type of Reds against whom the Fascisti fought so successfully, but whom there was none to oppose in unfortunate Russia.

Does the gentle reader realize that last year there were 283 unavenged murders in Catalonia, and that the authorities seemed



KING ALFONSO OF SPAIN, WITH THE LEADERS OF THE MILITARY DIRECTORY. GENERAL PRIMO DE RIVERA STANDS IN THE FRONT ROW AT THE LEFT, AND GENERAL CAVALCANTI IS AT THE RIGHT

utterly unable or unwilling to cope with the growing disorder? The number killed rivalled the totals of the Irish rebellion, of which one read so much. Nobody was safe. Yesterday it was the Archbishop of Saragossa shot down in his automobile;

to-day it was a mayor killed in his office. But no one dared take active steps to check the wave of organized terror. These Reds planned to use the same anti-corruption slogan for their Revolution that Primo de Rivera and his friends used for their *coup*

d'état—only, to use the vernacular, the military beat the Reds to it!

This means that properly to realize the outstanding value of this bloodless stroke, one must compare it with the gruesome street battles and the horrors of class fighting class that would have accompanied the rising of the Reds, plus the subsequent wholesale killings that the Moscow Third Internationalists would surely have recommended to their Madrid mates as the only way to hold what they had won. But—the politicians have been swept out with a broom and not with rifles.

Alfonso's Added Popularity

And what of the King in all this affair? Suppose he had not promptly recognized something that now everyone knows, viz.: the efficacy of this type of movement to purify politics and at the same time prevent Red Revolution?—to kill two birds of prey with the same stone? Suppose he had hesitated, like Louis XVI? Fortunately for Spain, he was not that sort of monarch. He hastened to Madrid, accepted the resignation of the disconcerted and do-nothing Cabinet, telephoned General Primo de Rivera to come to Madrid, and commissioned him to form a new government. No one else but a king would have had the power or the prestige to effect such a transition from a discredited government to one able and ready to govern, and that too without a single drop of Spanish blood being spilled.

If Alfonso XIII never does another useful act for his admiring countrymen, he has justified his existence. Whether or not he knew of the stroke before it was sprung, matters not. His business as monarch was to turn it to the advantage of the country, and that is just what he did. Certain it is that the head of the new government is in daily conference with the King. What His Majesty can do to help, is being done. And the dominant thought of an obviously satisfied Dictator is "the King is much pleased."

Another danger was confronting Spain which this stroke has also averted. Of late years one has heard frequent rumors of separatism in Catalonia, of a desire by those progressive people to throw off the yoke of the Madrid politicians. Those easterners are well-to-do folk, and they pay one-fifth of all Spain's taxes, of which only a little is spent in Catalonia, yet every local question there must be referred to Madrid

for solution. No one knows this state of affairs better than Primo de Rivera, for he has lately been the Commanding General of that province. The King knows it too. He has given his second son a Catalonian title, the Duke of Gerona, and a palace is building in Barcelona so that the sovereign may spend more of his time there.

All this separatism problem needs, say the Catalans, is a little sensible decentralization of government; and they urge that such a step would likewise please all the other provinces. Madrid has been running the whole country, and doing it badly. If the new Directory will meet this need for decentralization as boldly as they are meeting other questions, then they will lay the ghost of Catalan separatism.

The People Approve

And what about the future? The Directory says it intends to retain control only ninety days. One fancies that will be rather an elastic term—they certainly cannot let go until they have finished house cleaning. And in the meantime what are the people saying? I have just been making an extensive trip all over Spain, collecting notes for a book on the country's ancient stained glass. This meant considerable railway traveling and motoring, affording opportunity to talk with all sorts of people, not only in the cities and towns, but also in out-of-the-world halts along motor roads.

Everywhere people approved the new government. All were tired of the old round of selfish politicians succeeding each other in lucrative office, and were glad that payrolls were pruned and parasites dropped. But—and this is an important "but"—all commented that what was the use of saving those outlays while three million pesetas per week were being wasted on a useless war in Morocco, a war that has brought nothing but returning shiploads of wounded and sick soldiers. Here is a serious danger for the new government. It is a military one, and therefore suspected of wishing to continue military expenditures. If the Directory can meet this doubt in the public mind, they are safe.

What an opportunity of signal service for Spain this Directory has opened for itself! It has the approval and coöperation of the energetic King, and the well wishes of the people. It deserves success, and that it will succeed in all its patriotic endeavors is the wish of every foreign friend of Spain.

INSULIN IN ONTARIO

THE PROVINCE FREELY DISPENSES A FAMOUS NEW REMEDY

BY H. B. MCKINNON

WHILE nationalization of medical genius and medical services is as yet unknown on this continent, the Province of Ontario, by formal decree, has taken a step that goes far along the road toward that somewhat Utopian and very Socialistic end. Scarcely had the Farmer-Labor administration of Ernest Drury been swept from office last summer, when Dr. Forbes Godfrey, Minister of Health in the succeeding Conservative government, announced that his department would provide "free Insulin" for all diabetics in the province unable to secure for themselves the treatment based upon the widely-proclaimed scientific discovery by Dr. F. G. Banting, of Toronto.

Dr. Godfrey's act constituted a pioneering step of the first order. It was wholly unprecedented and almost revolutionary in conception and execution, in that it applied to the everyday practice of government a principle of Communistic complexion—the right of the needy to share in the rarest privileges of the well-to-do. Coming from a staunch Conservative—a member of the party which, in Canada, always has been called the friend and protector of Big Interests, whether that meant manufacturing or medicine—it was a sign of the times that will be noted with interest and appreciation the world over by students of humanitarian movements.

"I want to put the workingman of Ontario in the same caste, as regards health, with the millionaire," said Dr. Godfrey, himself a practicing physician in an Ontario town, in announcing the radical purpose of the new cabinet. "Under this scheme of governmental distribution, the poor of this province will be able to obtain from the Department of Health exactly what the millionaire has the means to purchase."

Under the terms of Dr. Godfrey's decision, as ratified by the cabinet of Premier Ferguson, the diabetes remedy known as "Insulin" has been distributed, gratis, since September 1 of the present year to all

sufferers in Ontario certified by their physicians as being unable to pay for the remedy. The supply for the province originates in the Connaught Laboratories of the University of Toronto; and, under government control, it is divided among nine health laboratories located at Fort William, Sault Ste. Marie, North Bay, Owen Sound, London, Toronto, Peterboro, Kingston and Ottawa. Each of these laboratories is being placed in such a position as to be able to undertake for the physicians in its area any necessary laboratory work in connection with the administration of the Insulin treatment.

The better to serve the public in this respect, the University of Toronto, collaborating with the Toronto General Hospital, has provided during the past summer "short courses" of instruction in Insulin treatment. To these courses have come physicians from all over Ontario, to the number of 600, each of whom is now fitted to prescribe Insulin and to appraise properly its effects. Practically every attendant at the instructional courses was a general practitioner—as distinguished from specialists and research men—and most of them came from rural or semi-urban areas.

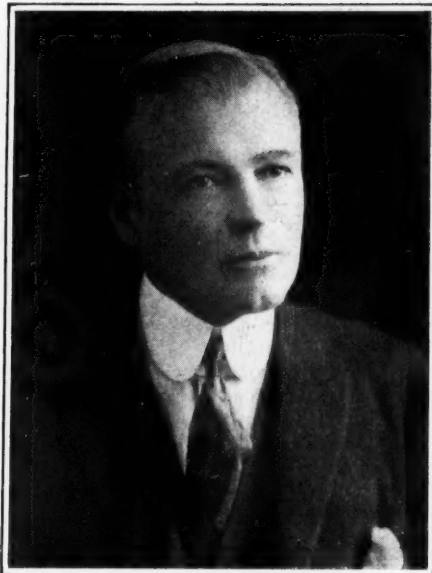
Where will Ontario's example end? At present, indications are that it may be widely emulated. The way is open to other provinces and, indeed, to other countries, to follow this instance of enlightened administration. Already—for months past, indeed—inquiries are coming from far afield. One recent request for free aid was from a confirmed diabetic in the State of Florida; another pathetic petition came from England; a third from a "hailed out" settler on the prairies of Saskatchewan, who wrote that he was penniless and suffering—unable to buy, yet hoping, even against hope, for Ontario's life-giving endowment of "free Insulin." Poignancy is added to such an appeal as this latter when it is stated that the intrinsic or commercial



Photographs by Mr. Lyonde, Toronto

DR. F. G. BANTING

(The Toronto scientist whose discovery of "Insulin" as a remedy for diabetes has brought to him—and to his associate, Prof. J. J. R. MacLeod—the Nobel Prize in Medicine for 1923)

**DR. FORBES GODFREY**

(Minister of Public Health for Ontario, under whose direction the new diabetes remedy known as "Insulin" is distributed free in the Province to those who are unable to pay for it)

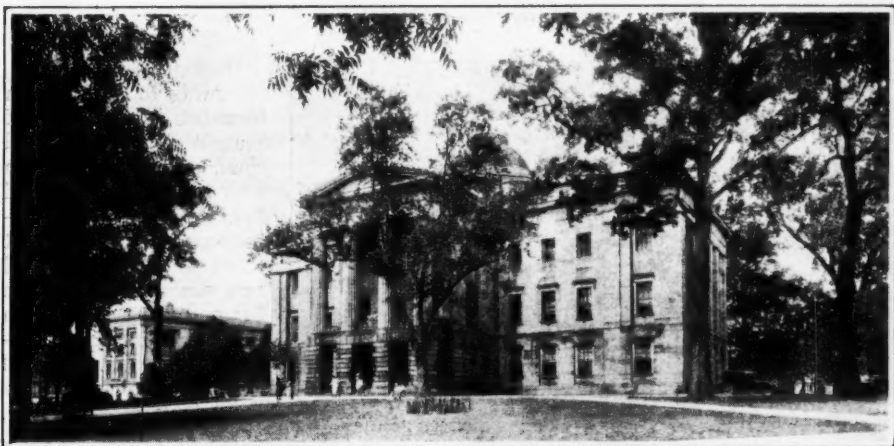
cost of Insulin for an average course of treatment is practically prohibitive except in the case of those well blessed in respect of financial resources.

To what exact extent the humane action of Ontario's Minister of Health will affect its citizenship is hard to determine until distribution of Insulin over a period of some months, at least, has afforded a gauge wherewith to form statistical tables. Already, returns are available for the first two months of free issue, September and October. In September, the nine laboratories above mentioned distributed to 161 needy sufferers a total of 114,000 units, at a cost to the Government of \$2,281. October showed an increase of practically 33 per cent. in the number of units, as well as in the number of patients treated. The distribution centers increased from nine to fifteen in number.

It is estimated that there are in Ontario province at least 1000 people of that diabetic stage in which Insulin may prove effective, all of whom are unable to purchase in the ordinary manner a course of treatment. Were the Godfrey legislation applied throughout the Dominion of Canada, there-

fore, it would touch the lives of many thousands. Still vastly greater would be the benign influence of such a policy in the United States, where, recent medical opinion has stated, some 2,000,000 persons are victims of diabetes.

In the face of these facts, it is gratifying to the man in the street to know—as all may know from the public press—that every facility is being given for the freest possible world-wide manufacture of Insulin. The moment the value of the discovery had been definitely determined, the University of Toronto placed its laboratories, and the results of the years of work of its graduates, at the disposal of the world. Provision was made for the establishment of "Insulin factories" in the United States, largely through the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation. "Rights" in Insulin manufacture were granted, as well, to the great governing bodies of the Old World, notably Great Britain, where Dr. Banting was acclaimed at the great World's Congress of Surgeons and where, to-day, a monument in London to the young Canadian is proposed as a fitting token of overseas esteem.



THE STATE CAPITOL AT RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

(The building was completed about 1840, made of solid granite, from plans drawn by David Paton, a Scotchman. It was intended to enlarge the structure, later on, by the addition of wings; but it is now considered architecturally complete)

NORTH CAROLINA'S RECENT PROGRESS

BY WILLIAM H. RICHARDSON

STATEWIDE constructive policies were unknown in North Carolina as late as 1901, when Charles B. Aycock, then Governor, who died a dozen years later while making an educational address in Birmingham, launched an offensive against ignorance. Until this movement took definite shape and began to show results there was nothing to give the State any favorable distinction. On the other hand, it remained one of the most backward States in the Union in almost every particular.

Measured in terms of dollars and cents, North Carolina's progress is not strikingly different from that of other States, as the entire nation entered upon a new régime following the World War.

A study of causes and effects shows that the State has worked out its own agricultural, educational and industrial salvation by the utilization of forces within itself. In other words, its people have sought happiness under their own "vines and fig trees." This is due largely to the fact that the State has, in spite of the country's former liberal immigration policies, remained homogeneous. Of the 2,559,000 enumerated in the 1920 census fewer than 8000 were foreign-born. This may be

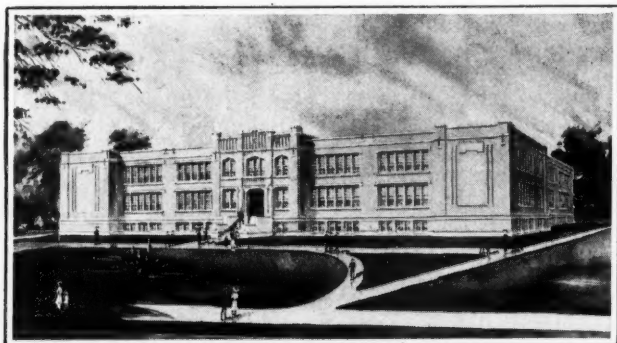
attributed to two outstanding causes. In the first place, there are no large cities in the State, and in the next place the large industries that have been built up utilize domestic labor almost entirely. Even in the smaller enterprises preference is always given native-born Americans.

North Carolina is perpetuating itself both in population and domestic policies. It has the highest birth rate in the Union.

It must be admitted that the Negro is and will always be the greatest barrier against the importation of foreign-born stock, and that if North Carolina is to remain 99½ per cent. American, as it is to-day, the Negro must be held. So far the State has lost only 25,000 Negroes in the exodus, according to figures compiled by the United States Department of Labor; and it has been asserted that for nearly every Negro who has migrated to the North, there has been another from farther South to take his place.

Support for the Public Schools

The State's educational policy, students of the situation declare, is the foundation on which all other causes contributing to progress rest. Nothing has done more



A SCHOOL HOUSE IN A TOWN OF LESS THAN 2000 POPULATION
(School buildings of this type are being erected in scores of North Carolina towns and cities. This one is at Smithfield, in Johnston County)

toward lifting North Carolina out of its backward tendencies. Revaluation of education has placed new values on all other forward movements and tendencies.

Yet experience shows that the people were at first unwilling to pay the price. It took money, of course. In addition to this it was necessary to pass laws releasing children from industry. Education won no real victory until a compulsory school attendance law was passed. Be it said to the credit of the mill man, however, that he was in no way entirely responsible for the tardiness of this reform. Instances have been cited where heads of families moved into cotton-factory centers, and put their children to work while they remained idle and subsisted on money earned by those who should have been in school.

However, the heaven continued to work. Aycock did not live to see the formative educational policies which he so earnestly advocated put into full operation, but it is only just to say that the gospel he preached played a large part in building the groundwork upon which the State's present endeavors rest. The year he was elected Governor less than one million dollars was spent for all educational purposes. In 1910 expenditures had increased to \$3,178,950, and during the present scholastic year they will exceed \$23,000,000. The value of public school property has risen from \$5,862,969 in 1910 to over \$35,000,000 now.

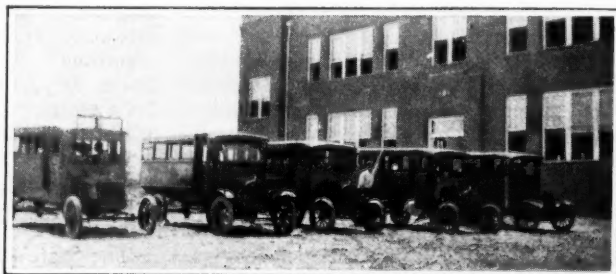
During the past year, according to information furnished by Secretary of State W. N. Everett, local communities of their own volition have invested \$21,000,000 in public education, and during the past three years have erected new school houses worth \$25,000,000. In addition to outstanding appropriations, the last General Assembly authorized a bond issue of \$5,000,000, available January 1, 1924, the money to be loaned to counties, for a period of

twenty years, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest. No school house of less than five rooms can be built from money thus received by the counties.

Consolidation of rural schools, now playing an important part in the State's educational scheme, has been placed on a scientific basis, and is supervised by a committee from the staff of the Department of Public Instruction.

No consolidation is authorized in any case until a county-wide plan has first been mapped out and approved by the State Board of Education. The progress of consolidation has been greatly advanced through the establishment of a State highway system. Transportation is no longer a problem. Six hundred motor driven trucks transport 23,000 children daily.

Public school teachers are better paid to-day than ever before. And no large rural school is considered well equipped until a teacherage has been erected and furnished.

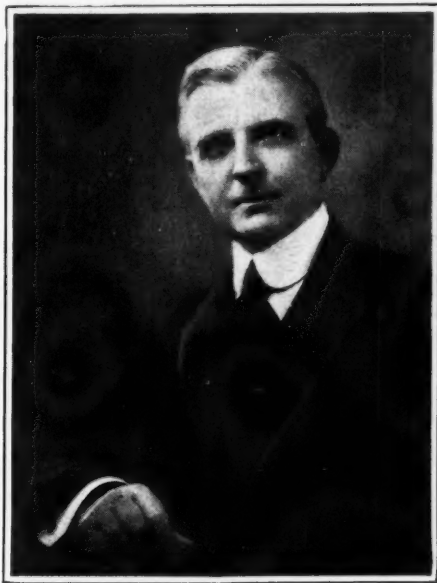


SIX HUNDRED TRUCKS, LIKE THESE, ARE USED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION TO TRANSPORT 23,000 CHILDREN TO SCHOOL IN RURAL DISTRICTS

Development of the public school system has naturally taxed institutions for higher learning to their capacity. However, they are receiving ample appropriations for the carrying on of their work. The State University recently adopted an extension policy that will put it into closer touch with the people than it has ever been. Correspondence courses counting toward degrees and teachers' certificates are being sent to all sections of the State. Consequently the passion for higher learning that burns in the breast of the remotest mountaineer may be satisfied.

Agricultural and Technical Training

No institution is meeting its obligations to all classes with more success than the University at Chapel Hill, which has a present appropriation of \$1,650,000 for expansion. This is included in the \$7,044,000 voted by the last General Assembly for permanent improvements at all the institutions for higher learning, including the State College of Agriculture and Engineering at West Raleigh, the North Carolina College for Women at Greensboro, the East Carolina Teachers' College at Greenville, the Negro Agricultural and Technical College at Greensboro, three Negro Normal Schools, at Elizabeth City, Fayetteville and Winston-Salem, the Cherokee Indian Normal School at Pembroke, the Appalachian Training School at Boone, and the Cullowhee Normal and Industrial School at Cullowhee. For their maintenance there is an annual fund of \$3,496,000.



HON. CAMERON MORRISON
(Governor of North Carolina since 1921)

Increased interest in agriculture, which was brought about largely through the efforts of the State College of Agriculture and Engineering, has also increased the responsibilities of an institution that is now in the midst of a program of expansion involving \$1,350,000. This college has now taken over all educational features connected with agricultural development; and the teaching of agriculture is being made more practical by the study of results obtained inside the State, rather than depending upon statistics which are of little value to the "dirt farmer."

This policy is being developed through the establishment of test farms, or experiment stations. There are now six of these, in various sections of the State, besides the one located at the college. Local farmers are given the benefit of all experiments, through demonstration agents and kindred methods. Thus the farmer has acquired a



THE TEMPLE OF AGRICULTURE, RECENTLY COMPLETED AT
RALEIGH

(This is one of a group of State buildings surrounding the Capitol)

keen interest in the college, because its work has been brought within range of his daily experience.

Dr. E. C. Brooks, formerly State Superintendent of Public Instruction, was made president of the agricultural college when it was reorganized last summer. His successor as State Superintendent is Prof. A. T. Allen, formerly his chief clerk. The appointment of Professor Allen was made by Governor Morrison, who based his choice upon the desire to see Dr. Brooks' policies continued in the public school system.

Negro Education

It is known that the educational advantages North Carolina has afforded the Negro are largely responsible for his remaining here. The Negro has always played an important part in the South's development and always will. Yet it cannot be denied that he has been the object of prejudice. However, North Carolina has largely overcome this, and is now dealing with the Negro in a different manner. The belief prevails here that education helps not only the Negro, but the white man as well, as education makes a better citizen out of him and promotes a friendly feeling between the races.

So North Carolina is now spending approximately \$4,000,000 a year on Negro education, including nearly \$2,000,000 in salaries for teachers and \$1,000,000 for new and better school houses. This does not include money used for the support of Negro colleges and normal schools.

Expressing gratitude for what the State has done for members of his race, Dr. James B. Dudley, president of the Negro Agricul-

tural and Technical College, which has an appropriation of \$455,000 for permanent improvements, said:

The effects of agricultural and technical training are rapidly gaining the appreciation of the Negro. Twenty-seven years ago, when I became president of the college, industrial training was covertly derided by most of the Negro institutions of the State. This was the only institution at that time devoted exclusively to industrial training and that boldly championed this form of education. Practically every Negro institution now gives some form of industrial training. The best Negro families are turning to agricultural and technical training for their sons.

Appreciation of the Negro's gratitude for economic protection is voiced in a letter received by the Governor after he had dispatched troops to Spruce Pine to prevent expulsion of Negro laborers, following an alleged crime that infuriated this mountain community.

It is not necessary to give the name of the writer. But he is one of the best-known Negroes in the State. He said:

I wish to thank you for your prompt action in moving to protect Negro laborers in Mitchell County. Crime can never be condoned. I hope the guilty culprit will be found and punished by due process of law. Your courageous stand that everybody shall be protected in the exercise of his rights, and that Negroes shall be allowed to work, gives us all increased assurance and a greater love for our beloved State.

Such a letter would never have been written in the days when lynchings were condoned or winked at.

Adult Illiteracy

The problem of adult illiteracy for a long time challenged the best thought of educational leaders, but it has been met with



OLD AND NEW SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES IN NORTH CAROLINA

(The structure at the right is one of the so-called "Rosenwald Schools," through which the Chicago merchant and philanthropist has shown his interest in Negro education)

**DR. E. C. BROOKS**

(President of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, and formerly State Superintendent of Public Instruction)

**PROF. A. T. ALLEN**

(Superintendent of Public Instruction in North Carolina, in charge of expenditures totaling \$23,000,000 a year for free education throughout the State)

**DR. W. S. RANKIN**

(Secretary of the North Carolina Board of Health and former president of the American Public Health Association. A vigorous crusader)

**CHARLES M. UPHAM**

(Chief engineer of the North Carolina Highway Commission, in charge of a road-building program involving an expenditure of \$65,000,000)

marked success through the establishment of schools in industrial centers and in many rural districts throughout the State. Miss Elizabeth Kelly, supervisor, tells of one woman who learned to read and write after she was seventy years old. The incentive that prompted her was a desire to read the Bible. These schools have a total enrollment of over 12,000.

Adult illiteracy, like Negro education, is handled through a division working under the direction of the Department of Public Instruction. Since the adoption of this method, the percentage of illiteracy has been reduced from 18.5 to 13.1. This demonstrates the result of intensified efforts; or, to express it differently, of specialization. Also the best results in dealing with the Negro have been obtained since the establishment of the Division of Negro Education, at the head of which is Prof. N. C. Newbold. Through this separate division strict supervision of teaching as well as of expenditures is now being maintained.

An increasing tendency to read, especially on the part of the rural population, is clearly shown in reports coming from Miss Mary B. Palmer, secretary and director of the North Carolina Library Commission. During the year now drawing to a close the commission, whose work is largely rural,

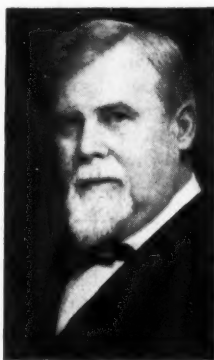
has circulated 165,000 volumes, reaching every county in the State except one. Nearly 700 traveling libraries, each containing from 35 to 40 volumes, have been sent to 479 places, including 167 new stations.

Fifty-eight libraries have been loaned to county summer schools and 535 debates to 217 rural schools. Debating societies have received 2,302 packages of reference material.

Miss Palmer interprets all this to mean, and has so stated at national library meetings, that a rural population, once shown the importance of reading good books and magazines, will demand them. North Carolina remains a rural State. It has, according to the latest federal census, only two towns of over 40,000. On the other hand, there are fifty, scattered throughout the State, with over 2,000 population. In addition to the facilities afforded by the Library Commission, there are located at various points in the State sixty-five public libraries.

Agricultural Resources

Two natural advantages have contributed materially to North Carolina's agricultural advancement, these being climate and soil. The latest killing frost on the coast occurs a month earlier than that in some mountain counties, while the annual mean tempera-

**WILLIAM A. GRAHAM**

(Serving his fourth four-year term as Commissioner of Agriculture. During his tenure of office, North Carolina has advanced from twenty-third to fifth State in the total annual value of crops)

ture ranges from 62 degrees at Wilmington to 54 degrees at Asheville. This, of course, means a long harvest season for the State, taken as a whole, and, it will be readily seen, is conducive to diversification.

Many varieties of soil are found over the State, but these are divided into three principal classes, coincident with the grand divisions—sandy loam in the east, cecil clay in the piedmont and darker clay in the West. This also encourages diversification.

While tobacco can be grown in each of the one hundred counties of the State, it is one of the principal crops in at least forty counties, lying principally in the piedmont and central coastal sections. Cotton, on the other hand, cannot be raised in high altitudes, yet it is one of the principal crops in about forty counties, also in piedmont and coastal North Carolina. Wheat is grown in every piedmont county and in many mountain counties, while peanuts, from which farmers also realize millions of dollars annually, are grown principally in the southeast corner of the State. Sweet potatoes thrive best in the east. Corn is grown with success in every county.

The growth of the sheep industry in mountain counties is noteworthy, while in the east there are large plantations on which are grown thousands of hogs. As a matter of fact, there is more livestock than ever before being produced throughout the State. This is possibly due in large measure to the fact that more feed is now being raised.

Industry, like agriculture, is confined to no one section, yet the piedmont leads in the number of factories, centered around such towns as Charlotte, Gastonia, Greensboro, High Point, Lexington, Concord, Winston-Salem and other points. In Gaston County, near Charlotte, there are now over one hundred cotton mills.

The beautiful mountain sections of western North Carolina have contributed liberally toward making this State a tourist center, especially during the summer months, while Southern Pines draws many winter visitors. Until the establishment of a State-wide highway system, however, many mountain sections were inaccessible, except by means of horses. But this handicap has been removed and there is now a road leading to the top of Mount Mitchell—6711 feet—the highest point east of the Rocky Mountains. Some of the richest farming land in the State is found in the mountains, where fruit also abounds.

Deforestation has proved a menace and in some sections has done much to mar the natural beauty of the mountains. But this is now being corrected. The establishment of the Pisgah National Forest, which lies in more than half dozen counties and covers hundreds of thousands of wooded acres, will go a long way toward checking deforestation.

Farming Problems

An abundance of home-grown raw materials, such as cotton and tobacco, has



A BEGINNERS' CLASS OF ADULTS, AT SCHOOL IN A FACTORY TOWN



A FIELD OF NORTH CAROLINA TOBACCO, WITH CURING BARN

(The last complete tobacco crop was valued at \$93,000,000—giving North Carolina first place in tobacco-producing)

given rise to the establishment of large industries in North Carolina which have a combined annual output worth a billion dollars. However, agriculture is still the backbone of the State.

In other words, North Carolina is primarily an agricultural State. This is demonstrated by the fact that it ranks fifth in the value of all crops, and fourth in the value of twenty-two leading crops. Its products in 1922 brought farmers \$342,637,000. Figures for 1923, when completed, are expected to show an increase over this.

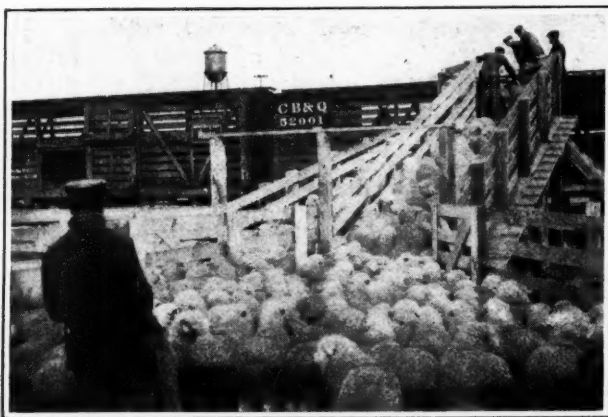
But this does not mean, though it shows progress, that North Carolina has solved all of its agricultural problems. It has not. Yet its farmers, with the help of a well-organized Department of Agriculture, at the head of which is Major William A. Graham, active at eighty-three, and the State College of Agriculture and Engineering, are turning their attention more and more toward improved methods, including the use of standard machinery. They are seeking to get all out of the soil it is capable of producing, by diversification.



A FIRST CROP OF CORN, IN CRAVEN COUNTY
(No fertilizer was used, and the estimated yield was 75 bushels per acre)



ON A TOBACCO FARM IN WAKE COUNTY
(Tobacco is North Carolina's second principal crop, cotton being first)



THE MOUNTAIN COUNTIES OF WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA ARE SHOWING INCREASED INTEREST IN THE RAISING OF SHEEP

But as yet 43.5 per cent. of the farms are operated by tenants and croppers numbering 117,459, of whom 53,917 are white and 63,542 are Negroes. The average amount of land cultivated in the State is less than eighteen acres per family. This means there is still much waste land.

Attempts to reduce the percentage of tenantry have so far borne no fruits. However, definite action is pending. The General Assembly of 1923 appointed a tenantry commission composed of three of its own members and of Dr. C. C. Taylor of the faculty of the State College of Agriculture and Engineering, and Dr. E. C. Branson of the faculty of the University of North Carolina. The purpose of this commission is twofold: To investigate plans of group and community settlements, and to consider the advisability of State aid to landless tenants and croppers. The commission will report to the Legislature in January, 1925, unless there is a session called earlier. It has, in addition to its investigations in North Carolina, visited States as far west as California and is now summing up its preliminary findings.

In two or three counties it was found that 99 per cent. of all land tilled by tenants and croppers was

planted in fertility-exhausting rather than in land-improving crops. Tenants and croppers in piedmont and coastal North Carolina were found to be planting tobacco and cotton almost exclusively. Landless farmers, it was learned, have less live stock than land owners, produce less food for home consumption, and enjoy much smaller cash incomes.

A survey of one mountain county showed that the average cash income of white tenants and croppers was less than ten cents a day per individual. Only one cow was found

for every 138 acres worked by white croppers, and one for every 277 worked by Negroes. Sixty-five per cent. of landless families took no newspapers or magazines, and only 7 per cent. took daily newspapers. The average family in this class attended less than two recreational events in 1922.

Intensified Agriculture

Experiments conducted by Hugh McRae of Wilmington, N. C., afforded the commission an interesting study. Mr. McRae conceived the idea that small tracts devoted to intensified farming would not only encourage the planting of a variety of crops, but would yield returns sufficient to enable owners to buy more land without going into debt. So he provided for seven



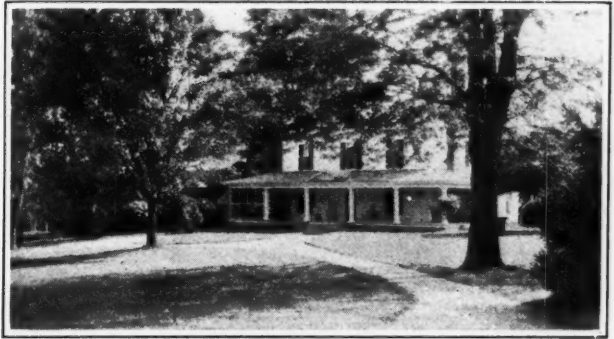
WORKMEN'S HOMES AND GARDENS IN A NORTH CAROLINA MILL VILLAGE

colonies, financing the project and turning the land over to the settlers ready to cultivate. Five of these succeeded. One was a partial failure and one a complete failure. But the net result was convincing.

From what is known as the Castle Hayne settlement, in New Hanover County, truck worth \$325,000 was shipped during the first half of 1923. From April to June, inclusive, seventy-eight carloads and enough packages to fill twenty-five additional cars were marketed.

Mr. McRae's plan is not a money-making project, but an experiment. He reports that the land he utilized in the formation of colonies for farm settlers yielded only \$50 a year in taxes before cultivation. It now pays into the county treasury \$35,000. Thus the county was benefited as well as the farmer. It is claimed that similar developments all over the State would net the counties enough money in taxes to enlarge their school systems materially. This view seems reasonable.

That large farms are by no means necessary to successful cultivation is the opinion held by Frank Parker, agricultural statistician for the State. Recently two farmers met in Mr. Parker's office. When one learned that the other was cultivating only ten acres, he asked in amazement: "Can



A TYPICAL NORTH CAROLINA COUNTRY HOME

you make a living on ten acres?" The reply was: "If I can't make a living on ten acres, I know I can on five."

Diversification of Crops

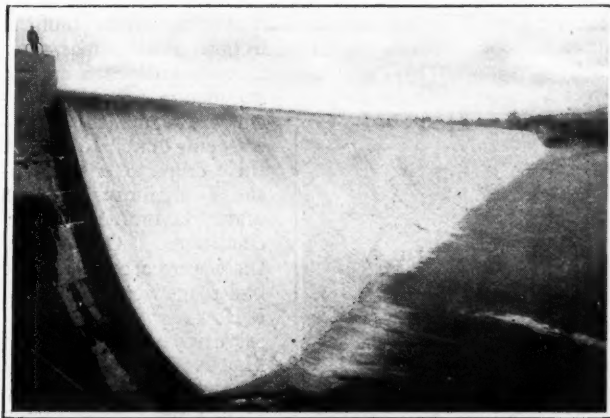
According to Mr. Parker, under whose direction tax lists are required to take a farm census in every county, diversification is on the increase. Although cotton, worth \$104,370,000 in 1922 and probably more in 1923, continues to be the State's leading money crop, its last complete tobacco crop netted \$93,000,000, which gave it the lead over Kentucky and made it the first State in the value of this product.

However, Mr. Parker's statement as to diversification seems to be amply justified by the following list of other North Carolina crops and their values: Corn, \$44,963,000; hay, \$21,221,000; sweet potatoes, \$9,944,000; wheat, \$7,491,000; apples, \$5,013,000;

Irish potatoes, \$4,557,000; peanuts, \$4,547,000; soy beans, \$2,574,000; oats, \$2,504,000; sorghum syrup, \$2,352,000; peaches, \$1,975,000; cowpeas, \$1,432,000. This includes only the staple crops that yield over \$1,000,000 a year, in addition to which there are about forty others, including truck and other spring vegetables, also large quantities of strawberries, grown in the eastern part of the State.

Farm Labor

There is always a shortage of farm labor, due to the fact that factories



A 32,000 HORSE-POWER HYDRO-ELECTRIC GENERATING STATION

(Such developments as this one on the Yadkin River have made 6264 manufacturing plants possible in North Carolina, with invested capital of \$916,039,159)



A NORTH CAROLINA MOUNTAIN ROAD BEFORE THE PRESENT HIGHWAY PROGRAM WAS LAUNCHED

offer better wages. No solution for this situation has been found. "All of our reporters," says Mr. Parker, "inform me that public works and factories are continually drawing on farm labor and especially from the ranks of the unskilled."

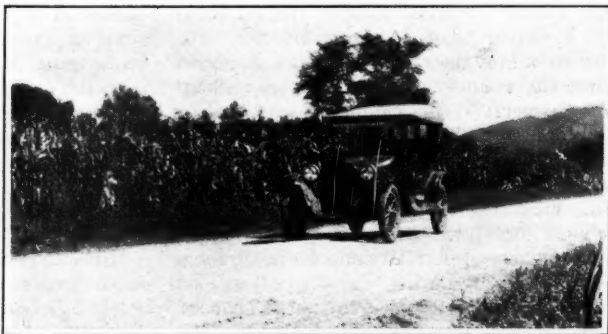
The average farm hand receives \$28 a month with board and \$37 without. By the day he receives \$1.43 with board and \$1.75 without. On the other hand, cotton mills, which employ nearly 100,000 workers, pay as high as \$4.75 a day. Tobacco factories, employing nearly 25,000, including thousands of Negroes, pay as high as \$5.04 a day, while furniture factories, which furnish employment to between 8000 and 10,000, offer as much as \$5 a

day. In addition to these, miscellaneous industries, employing many thousands more, have wage scales running from \$1.70 to \$4.64.

Thus, it will be seen at a glance that industry is agriculture's keenest competitor. Yet, both show progress and, after all, neither is the other's economic enemy.

Highway Progress

Until 1921 mud was the farmer's greatest barrier against progress. There was scarcely a dependable highway in the State. This condition was also a serious drawback to



A GRAVEL ROAD BEING MAINTAINED AS SUCH UNTIL THE COMPLETION OF THE HARD-SURFACED SYSTEM



ON THE CHARLOTTE-STATESVILLE HIGHWAY

(Forty-four miles long; a typical North Carolina hard-surfaced road)

education in that during winter months roads in many sections were impassable. This kept children from school. During the summer months the farmers were the greatest sufferers, being unable to market their crops over the so-called highways, except under favorable weather conditions. Of course, there were exceptions, but bad roads were the rule.

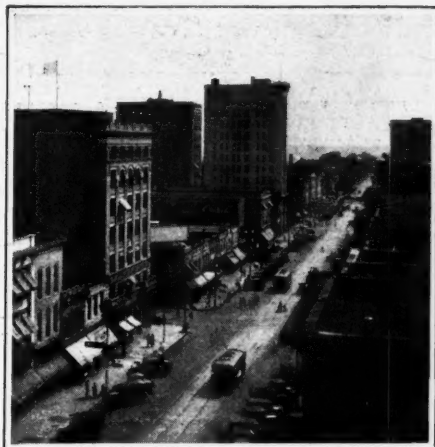
However, the ultra-conservative spirit that had kept North Carolina from adopting a State-wide highway policy was broken down completely in 1921, when, following the advice of Governor Morrison and

other leaders in this forward movement, the General Assembly authorized the issuance of \$50,000,000 bonds and provided the necessary legislation for taking over 6200 miles, of which 2500 will be hard surfaced and 3700 built of durable rock and soil substance. The work is now nearing completion. Every county seat has been connected, and trunk lines now connect North Carolina with every adjoining State. An additional bond issue of \$15,000,000 was authorized this year without opposition.

Internal economic needs led to the construction of this highway system. The advertising the State would get out of it did not figure in the motives of those who advocated it. Yet it has advertised the State and has brought many tourists. Last winter a count showed that 500 automobiles bearing license tags of other States were entering North Carolina every day!

The Tax System

The same General Assembly that voted the initial good-roads bond issue adopted a new State tax system. Under it there is no levy on real estate or personal property for State purposes. This form of taxation is left with the counties. The State's operating revenue comes principally from incomes, while interest charges on road bonds, and funds for the maintenance of highways, are derived from a tax on automobiles and gasoline, which is expected to yield \$7,000,000 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924. Prior to the enactment of the present law, the State received a share of the ad valorem tax levied by the counties, which was 47 2-3 cents on the \$100 assessed valuation. Of this, 11 2-3 cents was for administrative purposes, four cents for pensions and thirty-two cents for schools.

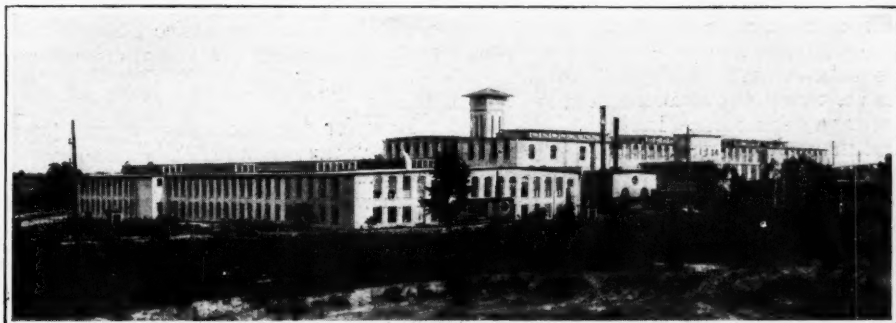


A STREET SCENE IN RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA'S CAPITAL

(Every one of the tall buildings was erected since 1910)

But the State now levies no tax whatever on the land of the farmer or anyone else.

And so, North Carolina, over 99 per cent. American and made up largely of the descendants of English, Scotch and Scotch-Irish stock, is tackling the problems that confront it and solving them by its own methods and at comparatively little cost when measured by the good that has been accomplished. It contributes more to the Federal Government than it spends on itself, ranking as the sixth State in the amount of Federal taxes it pays. During the past fiscal year it yielded \$140,000,000. This year, in the opinion of the Collector of Internal Revenue, the total will be \$160,000,000. Most of this revenue comes from tobacco factories; but North Carolina pays a larger income tax than any other Southern State except Texas.



A COTTON MILL AT ROCKINGHAM, N. C., ONE OF THE LARGEST IN THE STATE

THE CANADIAN SALES TAX

BY H. ARCHIBALD HARRIS, C.P.A.

[The author is a Chicago business man—a practical economist and expert accountant—who was sent to Canada by the bankers' associations of Illinois and Indiana, to inquire into the real operation of the Dominion's sales tax as it affects the average citizen.—THE EDITOR]

RIGHT on the heels of an extended trip through the Dominion of Canada, I am setting myself to the task of telling, impartially, how the much-discussed sales tax is working there.

A few months hence the Canadian sales tax will be one of the main objects in the public eye throughout the United States. Just before sailing for Europe a month or so ago, Senator Reed Smoot promised that in the next session of Congress he would introduce a sales tax as a means of paying a soldiers' bonus. Senator Smoot, as chairman of the powerful Finance Committee, is in a position to lend strong backing to whatever system he advocates. Representative Green, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, is reliably reported to favor consideration of the sales tax. A trip through the East, parts of the South, the Middle West, and the North in April of this year showed me that people are greatly interested in this tax. They are talking it in their homes as well as in their offices. There is little doubt, therefore, that the sales tax will have thorough consideration in the next session of Congress.

It was because of the acute interest being manifested in the sales tax, as a system for replacing or supplementing taxes now in effect in this country, that the Illinois Bankers Association and the Indiana Bankers Association sent me—together with the economic writer, W. B. Swindell—to Canada with a view to ascertaining how the sales tax is working there. Let it be said here that much of the credit for this investigation is due to Mr. Swindell. He has been a student of the sales tax for years and his tireless search for unprejudiced sentiment on this question in the Dominion is responsible in a large part for the completeness and the "two-sidedness" of our survey.

The Canadian system was selected for investigation because it is the most widely

discussed tax law in the world to-day. Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Mexico, Philippine Islands, Spain, and Sweden have either had a sales tax or now have one; but the Canadian law is operating in a country most like our own, and it has been acclaimed by many in the United States to be the most successful sales-tax system in existence.

There will not be opportunity in this article to go in detail into the question whether the Canadian sales tax would be practicable for the United States; that would require a book. In this story, I am endeavoring to forget my personal views and to set forth briefly and without prejudice how I found the tax to be working.

Counsellorship for a great many banking and other organizations, and for clients in every business from waste paper to watches, has taught me that one cannot swoop suddenly down upon a town or a country, ask a few questions, catch a flyer for home the next night, and then say accurately how a tax system is working and what the people think of it. Almost three months of constant activity have been none too much to study the operations of the Canadian tax. During this period, however, I believe we have seen every individual and organization who might have more than a surface knowledge of the tax and have discussed the system with about every type of citizen.

Personnel of Canada's Tax System

Now for the tax. In the first place, Canada's tax systems are administered with as great simplicity as possible. The dispatch with which tax cases are handled is little short of inspirational, and in marked contrast with our own drawn-out conferences and meetings.

A true picture of Canadian tax conditions could not be painted without putting into it the figures of those men who have worked

so zealously to administer the laws with fairness to all. Hon. W. S. Fielding, Canada's "grand old man" and Minister of Finance, in charge of all tax administration, has shown excellent judgment in choosing his assistants. He has selected men who reduce the irritation of tax laws to a minimum. Hon. R. R. Farrow, Commissioner of Customs and Excise, supervises the administration of the Canadian sales tax. He is an elderly gentleman, who has been on tax and tariff work for about thirty years. Commissioner Farrow is reputed to be a splendid organizer and director. His clever administration, according to citizens of Canada whom we interviewed, has ironed out many wrinkles in the sales-tax law.

Under Commissioner Farrow, and directly in charge of sales-tax operations, is Major S. W. Hobart. Major Hobart told us that in the several years of operation of the sales tax he had lost but very few of his men. Consequently, the force responsible for the administration of the sales tax is experienced and well trained. This fact stands out rather strikingly when we consider the force which administers our own revenue laws. I have heard it estimated by those qualified to know that there is a turnover of as high as 200 per cent. in our force of tax men at Washington at the present time.

Each case in the department handling the sales tax in Canada is treated individually. Major Hobart holds virtually all conferences with taxpayers on sales-tax matters. Thus he is able to keep in intimate touch with the different conditions arising. He told us that occasionally he even visits concerns which are debating some point before the Customs and Excise Department, and thus obtains an accurate insight into just what conditions should be considered in deciding the case. So far as the Customs and Excise Department knows, there are few defalcations by taxpayers.

Collected by the Customs Department

The cost of collection is very small. We were told there are approximately 156 customs ports in Canada, excluding the many outposts. The customs men in many of these posts formerly had little to do each day, sometimes not more than a couple of hours' work. To these men were delegated the details pertaining to the sales tax. Soon the whole organization was running smoothly, and the problem of collecting the sales tax was solved with little additional cost.

Although little or no mention of it is made by Americans who favor a sales tax for the United States, Canada has an income tax which raises almost as much money as her sales tax. It produced \$77,000,000 last year, as against \$90,000,000 for the sales tax. As a matter of actual fact, Canada's surtax rates are higher than our own. Her highest surtax rate is 65 per cent. as against our maximum of 50 per cent.

Before going into the details of the Canadian sales tax, let me prepare the reader for what we have found by saying that when we entered Canada we were neither for nor against the sales tax. We had heard so much about it that we simply wanted to find out "what was what."

The Tax Collected Monthly

In the first place, the Canadian sales tax is payable monthly. This is, in a way, a very good arrangement. Frequent remittances take the load from banks and financial centers. Small monthly payments are not so burdensome to the taxpayer, except as to the monthly work involved in making out returns. Many taxpayers in the United States are now forced to borrow money in order to meet their quarterly installments.

In its sales-tax system, Canada follows a "pay as you go" policy. Payment of the tax follows the month in which sale was made. In this way the taxpayer is given an opportunity to make collection on his sales, and pay the tax therefrom. While thirty-days credit is the rule, most of the money is paid the month following sale. Where longer time is required, trade acceptances have been received, and can be discounted at the bank to provide the funds. The merchant is, therefore, in a better position to pay on a monthly basis, with less strain.

Every taxpayer is licensed. The fee is \$2, which covers the expense of the license and clerical work connected therewith. The license is issued by the District Collector, who, year after year, checks up his potential taxpayers until all those intended to be taxed are licensed. A collector in Canada is usually familiar with his district, and, being held responsible in that locality, soon makes his canvass complete. It is not expected, of course, that the tax will cover every taxpayer in a year, and thus prevent dodging so quickly. A sales tax will probably be in effect for several years before it gathers in every taxpayer.

Sales-Tax Rates

The original Sales Tax Act in Canada was effective May 19, 1920. On June 4, 1921, the original rates were repealed and new rates came into force on May 10, 1921. On June 28, 1922, the Act was again amended, the rates repealed to be effective May 24, 1922. This is the Act now in force, effective to and including December 31, 1923. The present tax rates are:

- 2¼ per cent. on sales and deliveries by manufacturers or producers, and wholesalers or jobbers.
- 4½ per cent. tax on sales by manufacturers or producers to retailers or consumers.
- 3¾ per cent. tax on the duty paid value of importations by manufacturers or producers, and wholesalers or jobbers.
- 6 per cent. tax on the duty paid value of importations by retailers or consumers.

Lumber is specifically treated as against other commodities. A tax of 3 per cent. is imposed upon sales and deliveries by Canadian manufacturers and 4½ per cent. on importations, but no further tax is payable on resale.

The purchaser is furnished with a written invoice of any sale, which states separately the amount of the tax.

The new sales-tax law, which will become effective January 1, 1924, levies a tax of 6 per cent. upon the sales price of all goods manufactured or produced in Canada, and the same rate upon all importations for consumption. More will be said of it further on in this story.

Under the Canadian sales-tax laws in effect to date, raw foodstuffs are exempt. Essential food products—such as flour, corn meal, oat meal, milk, cheese, lard, eggs, sugar, salt, and butter—are exempt. Manufactured foods, such as shredded wheat, pastry (including cakes, pies, cookies, and similar items), and many other manufactured foodstuffs, are taxed. The containers as well as the products entering indirectly into the manufacturing process are taxed. The general impression is that food products are exempt, but an analysis of the situation proves the contrary.

Clothing in all its forms is taxed.

Power is exempted. We could find no one who could give us any reason for this. Nearly everyone with whom we discussed this point was puzzled, but was of the opinion that motive power should be taxed.

Under the present sales-tax act, royalties are not taxed. They are, however, taxed

under the new law; that is, the 6 per cent. law effective in January, 1924.

Professional fees are not taxed. There is no obvious reason for not including them.

The Farmer is Favored

Readers have no doubt noticed that the farmer is exempted from taxation on his products. The reason for this is undoubtedly the poor condition of the Canadian farmer. Judging from the many farmers we met and the information given us by people whom we knew to be unprejudiced, the farmer has needed some encouragement. In the past, Canadian farmers have depended too much on wheat or some other single product. Realizing the straitened circumstances of the farmer, the Government has exempted him from sales taxes on many of the things he buys and sells.

Feeling is strong in many parts of the Dominion, and among different classes of business men, that the farmer is unjustly favored in the tax laws. It is felt that regardless of the condition of the farmer—and it is stated on all sides that he is coming back strong now—he should not be exempted from taxation as he is at present. It is contended that a farmer is as well able to pay a sales tax as a small merchant or a man with a small income in almost any branch of enterprise.

On the other hand, the farmer feels that he is having to pay an unnecessary tax because the sales tax is assessed on wholesalers, jobbers, and manufacturers instead of on the retailer. And so the battle wages!

The Railroads Take It All!

The railroads of Canada seem to be the real reason for the sales tax. The average citizen with whom we talked accepted the high taxes, however, believing them to be a war measure. "We have to pay for the war and I must do my share," he will tell you. Apparently, he does not realize that Canada is paying nothing toward reduction of her public debt. The sales tax does not raise enough to pay the yearly deficit on Canada's government-owned railroads.

The sales tax for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1922, raised \$61,000,000. Advances to railroads for that year amounted to \$97,950,645.36. There was a total Government deficit of \$81,380,864.77.

For the fiscal year 1922-'23 the Canadian sales tax raised \$90,000,000. According to the speech of W. S. Fielding, Minister of

Finance, in Parliament on May 11, 1923, there was an advance to railroads during that fiscal year of \$92,190,000. The net amount of \$49,293,086 was added to Canada's public debt in that year.

Expressions of Canadian Opinion

I shall now report conditions and sentiment among the different classes interviewed in Canada, giving first space to statements and conditions favoring the sales tax and then discussing the points which Canadian citizens have brought up against it.

Loyalty to the Government was a dominating note in the conversation of all those with whom we talked. When we first started in to discuss the subject with the manager of a credit association, we could see him stiffen against any suggestion that *anything* might not be working properly in Canada. Others, all over the Dominion, reacted similarly when first approached. There is no measuring the value of such a patriotic attitude to the Government. It must account for a great part of the revenue which otherwise would not be collected. The manager of the credit association knew of no particular reason why the sales tax was working successfully or in just what way it was operating satisfactorily. He thought my question might be a criticism in disguise, and he proceeded to defend his government.

The president and general manager of one of the largest lumber companies in Canada told me that he knew of no trouble whatsoever in connection with the present sales tax. The lumbermen, he said, have special concessions. A great many of the other industries, I find, protest against special sales-tax concessions granted to those in the lumber business. It seems that the lumbermen may like the present law because it gives them special consideration. The new law makes no exception in favor of the lumber industry, and lumbermen are strenuously objecting to it.

A farmer's wife, whom we questioned in the outskirts of Windsor, Ontario, professed ignorance of the fact that such a thing as the sales tax existed.

A rural mail carrier also did not know to what tax we referred. He expressed himself oblivious of the existence of a tax on sales.

A leading attorney in the Gaspé Peninsula said that according to his knowledge and experience there was no trouble with the sales tax. It was proceeding nicely and affording the Government good revenue.

These are practically all the pleas which we heard for the sales tax in Canada.

Objections Urged by Retailers

Let us now consider the objections to the sales tax. One of the first things which we encountered in Canada was the following statement by Minister of Finance Fielding which, we confess, surprised us; for we thought the sales tax had been working with considerable success. This statement was made in the House of Parliament on May 11, 1923:

We must admit that the tax is a burden; and apart from the amount of it, the form in which it has been imposed has given rise to very much discontent. There are varying rates of taxes at the different stages of business enterprises—6 per cent., 4½ per cent., 3¾ per cent. and 2¼ per cent. Many a good citizen who recognizes that the Government needs money and who is willing to pay his fair share of the taxes, objects to the *complexity* of the sales tax.

An American magazine several months ago published an article which dealt with "painless taxes." The Canadian sales-tax system was referred to as one which is working painlessly, a tax which is not felt by the consumer. I am able to state with absolute conviction that this tax is not "painless." An illustration of how the tax is *not* working painlessly may be found in experiences which we had in Toronto.

A retail clothing store told us that the tax was concealed in the cost and therefore not felt. On the other hand, a manufacturing hardware store knocked the painless argument into oblivion by saying that on screen doors and similar material an invoice is furnished to the consumer on which the tax is separately shown; and the consumer does know when he is paying a tax on such products. This statement of the manager of the hardware store was verified by a number of officials in the lumber industry.

Another store, retailing supplies for the bathroom, informed us that on every sale the Government tax is shown separately on the statement given to the buyer, and the buyer knows positively that he is paying a tax on such equipment. Some of the big printers were also billing their customers showing tax separately.

Answer to the "Painless" Argument

As to the actual painlessness of the tax, the best comment which we received on this angle of the question is contained in the

following letter from the Hon. Alfred W. Speakman, Member of Parliament and lieutenant of Robert Forke, leader of the Progressive party in the Canadian Parliament. He speaks not for himself alone, but for his party.

In response to your request for a statement of the views of western agriculture on the sales tax, I have prepared the following memorandum, in which I have outlined the main points of objection. I may say that this is not a mere expression of my personal views on the matter, but I have discussed the contents of this letter with many of the federal progressive members here, representing the three Prairie Provinces, and have received their unanimous endorsement as to the attitude I have taken. You may, therefore, consider this as an authoritative statement of our position.

The organized farmers of western Canada are not in sympathy with the principle of a general sales tax on commodities as at present applied, although realizing that it might with advantage be levied upon certain lines of goods which might be termed luxuries. Their objections, which are the result of some years of careful study and observation, might be briefly summarized as follows:

1. This tax levied at its source must inevitably be increased by the pyramiding of profits as the goods pass through the hands of wholesalers, jobbers, retailers, etc., with the result that the ultimate purchaser must pay a sum greatly in excess of the amount received by the federal treasury. Thus the present proposed tax of 6 per cent. would approximate 10 per cent. as added to the retail price of the goods affected.

2. A sales tax of this nature is unsound in its application, as it is not based on the taxpayer's ability to pay, but on the amount of goods which he must purchase. In that way it will increase in direct ratio to the number of dependents he may have, and might be appropriately termed a "baby" tax, acting as a direct deterrent to the rearing of families.

3. Under this tax also, the smaller a man's available income, the greater the percentage of taxation, as a larger percentage of that income must be expended in the purchase of those taxable commodities.

4. This tax bears with peculiar weight on the western farmer. Not only is he, in common with all consumers, taxed upon his purchases for household, family, and personal use, but he must also pay this tax upon his instruments of production, his machinery, building, and fencing materials, etc.

In this respect, of course, he is placed in the same position as the manufacturers of other products, but with this difference—that in other lines of industry the manufacturer is enabled to add the tax to the market price of his goods, thus passing it on to the consumer, while in the case of the farmer, he must absorb it himself, as the market price of his products is set in the open markets of the world.

It has been stated by the advocates of this system of taxation that this is a method of "painless extraction." This might be taken as an insult upon the intelligence of the taxpayer. A moment's reflection will show that, even though the money is extracted under the influence of a narcotic, the patient will find upon awakening from his stupor that not only is the money gone but he has paid very highly for the sedative.

The last paragraph of Mr. Speakman's letter discusses the "painless" question acidly but aptly.

The first point mentioned, the increase from 6 to 10 per cent., is also well taken. His percentage on the increased price to the consumer is conservative, as most of the figures we have seen showed an even greater addition. Ability to pay, the second point discussed by Mr. Speakman, is certainly not the basis of the sales tax; and our experience would indicate that the Progressive member has scored another point here. When companies pay a tax to the Government, regardless of the fact that they are losing money, the tax system is certainly not based on ability to pay. On the third point brought out by Mr. Speakman, there is a good deal to be said both ways. However, it is certain that the man with \$100,000 income spends a smaller proportion of it than the man with \$1,000, who must spend virtually every penny of his income for actual living expenses. The tax falls most heavily, is felt most, by the one who spends the greatest part or all of his income.

The Hon. Mr. Speakman says in his fourth point that other manufacturers than farmers are able to add the tax to the market price of their goods. But I am unable to see how this helps manufacturers. It does give the wholesaler or retailer a bigger amount on which to figure profit; but it does not benefit them directly, as they have to put out their own money for the tax included in the manufacturer's selling price to them. But the manufacturer makes absolutely nothing out of the tax if he figures it on his cost, plus profit, in accordance with the directions of the Government.

Must Be Paid by the Consumer

In America there seems to be considerable doubt as to whether the sales tax of Canada is intended to be included in the cost.

The intention of the Government that a total sales tax should be passed on and paid for by the ultimate consumers is definitely shown by the following words in Section 19 B B B of the Sales Tax Act of 1920, and the subsequent years: "*But, such tax must not be included in the manufacturers', producers' or wholesalers' costs on which profit is calculated.*" The wording could only mean that the Government intended the price at which the goods would be sold by each handler to include all of the previous sales tax paid on such goods. It is the

ultimate consumer who is expected to stand the tax.

One of the greatest hardships worked by the present sales tax, according to Mr. Charles W. Tinling, president and general manager of the National Drug and Chemical Company of Canada, Ltd., occurs in the handling of what is known as proprietary goods. These are goods put up by manufacturers in packages ready to sell by the dealer to the consumer, and which carry a fixed selling price for the wholesaler, jobber, and retailer. Difficulties encountered by handlers of proprietary goods led Canada to change its entire system of sales taxation and enact the new 6 per cent. law which goes into effect next January. Basing his plea on these goods, Mr. Tinling made a fight for the 6 per cent. law, and he is credited with being largely responsible for its enactment. Proprietary goods are usually advertised heavily by the manufacturer. At the beginning of the initial advertising campaign the size of the package and the retail price are set. They cannot be changed without considerable embarrassment to all handling them. A sales tax affects the price at which manufacturer sells to wholesaler, and wholesaler sells to retailer, so that on packages with an advertised retail price it is hard for manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers to adjust their prices.

One of the executives of the Canadian Manufacturers Association told me that wherever possible the manufacturer had reduced the size of his package. In my opinion the manufacturer selling proprietary goods at a standard advertised retail price, subject to a sales tax, must do one or two of three things. He must (1) reduce his cost, (2) reduce the size of his package, or (3) increase his selling price.

In reducing his cost the manufacturer cannot use inferior materials without the hazard of killing sales. He may reduce the labor cost, and this is where he will start in many cases. But men will not always stand salary reductions. They will often strike, as we all ruefully recall. Others may be obtained to take their places at a lower rate, but frequently at the expense of efficiency. In the meantime, the original workers lose out.

It is possible to reduce the size of the package; but where advertising has established the contents sold, that course is unwise and sometimes almost impossible. If the size is cut down, sales may fall off and

the consumers, some of whom will be the laborers who refused the wage cuts, will again lose. The selling price can be increased where it is not advertised. Once more, the consumer pays!

Let us consider the wage-earner whose salary has been cut by the manufacturer of the package goods in an endeavor to reduce costs and thus avoid a loss on account of the sales tax. His wife goes to market. Her husband's salary may be smaller, either because he remained with the company who cut his wages or because he had to take a lower salary in order to get a job at another place after he quit. The wage-earner's wife buys a package of goods at the same price she has been paying. Instead of lasting her five days, it lasts four. The manufacturer has not only reduced his cost by cutting wages, but he has reduced the size of the package. Manufacturers in some cases do both, even resorting to the third method suggested—that of raising the price also. The sales tax is given as his reason. But the sum total of the manufacturer's action, and the final effect of the tax, is to increase the price to the consumer whose wages are often reduced by that same sales tax. Mr. Tinling's figures, revealing losses to manufacturers and others, are shown below:

The revenue collected by the Government from sales tax was:

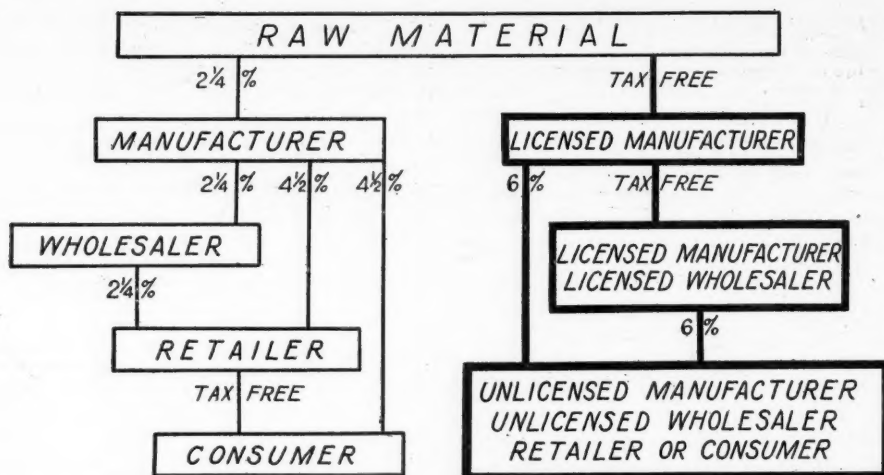
In the period ended March 31, 1921...	\$38,000,000
In the fiscal year ended March 31, 1922.....	61,000,000
Estimated in the period ended March 31, 1923.....	90,000,000
Total.....	\$189,000,000

The number who have been unable to pass on or absorb the tax has not decreased, but as a consequence of the taxation the burden has been getting steadily heavier until it has reached a point that is really unbearable.

Of the \$189,000,000 collected from the sales tax, a liberal estimate is that \$40,000,000 has been paid by the manufacturers as sales tax on their purchases. The greater proportion of this \$40,000,000 has not been passed on by the manufacturers in the price of their products. This leaves \$149,000,000 that has been paid to the Government by way of sales tax by the wholesale and retail trade of this country.

Investigation by 34 retail drug stores situated in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, and London (Ontario) shows that the sales tax cost each of these stores in the year 1922 an average of \$816.73 per store. If you put the average loss made by each retail store in Canada in 1922 at the absurdly low rate of \$125 per store, it means that in the year 1922 the retail trade of Canada lost, because retailers were unable to pass on all the sales tax, a sum of at least \$22,500,000.

It is known that several wholesalers in the year 1922 lost by forced absorption of sales tax, in one



PRESENT AND PROPOSED TAXES, ON GOODS OF CANADIAN MANUFACTURE

(The present sales tax is shown at the left, with thin lines. The proposed consumption or sales tax is at the right, with heavy lines. The present tax applies in every case to selling prices. The proposed tax applies to a licensed manufacturer's selling price but to a licensed wholesaler's purchase price. In the latter case the tax is payable only when he sells the goods)

instance, \$45,000 and in another instance over \$75,000.

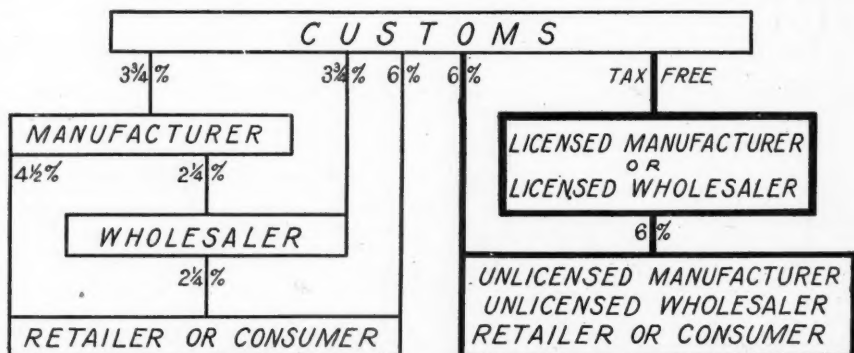
One manufacturer told us that in a single year he was forced to absorb \$75,000, and that altogether he had paid out \$125,000 of his profits without any reimbursement. I understand that the paint manufacturers have lost a total of over \$500,000 in the same manner, and that there are thousands of other firms who have lost large sums from the same cause.

A further statement from Mr. Tinling goes more into detail as to what the present sales tax is losing to the wholesalers, re-

tailers, and manufacturers of Canada; and it also shows the approximate loss to the Government because of its failure to receive income on this amount:

It is safe to say that of the remaining \$149,000,000 collected by the Government since the 1st of May, 1920, from \$60,000,000 to \$70,000,000 has been absorbed and lost to the wholesale and retail trade of all kinds in Canada, and to this must be added the amount that has been absorbed by some manufacturers and consequently lost to them.

It is therefore fair to say that because of the wording of the act and business conditions certain manufacturers and the wholesale and retail trade have lost by way of taxation at least \$80,000,000, while other manufacturers and certain wholesalers have



PRESENT AND PROPOSED SALES OR CONSUMPTION TAXES, ON GOODS IMPORTED INTO CANADA

(The present sales tax is shown at the left, with thin lines. The proposed consumption or sales tax is at the right, with heavy lines. In each case the tax is payable at the time of entry, on the duty-paid value. But the present tax, as applied to manufacturer's and wholesaler's sales, is payable on selling prices; while the proposed tax would be paid by the licensed manufacturer on his selling price and by the licensed wholesaler on his purchase price. In the latter case the tax is payable only when he sells the goods)

been getting off "scot-free" of sales tax because the character of the merchandise they sell enables them to pass on the tax.

Estimated division of sales tax collected:

Estimated collected from manufacturers.....	\$40,000,000
Estimated collected from wholesale and retail trade.....	149,000,000
Total sales collected.....	\$189,000,000
Estimated loss sustained by certain manufacturers because of impossibility to pass on the sales tax....	\$10,000,000
Estimated loss of wholesale and retail trade because of impossibility to pass on tax.....	70,000,000
Estimated loss to the three trades.....	\$80,000,000
Estimated loss to the Government through loss of income tax on this amount.....	\$8,400,000

The Retail Merchants Association of Canada adds its voice to the multitude, and contends that the sales tax is falling with particular weight on the retail trade.

Mr. Tinling believes that the proposed 6 per cent. tax on manufacturers would be much preferable to the present tax on manufacturers and wholesalers. His charts comparing the systems are printed on page 638.

Such a wide difference of opinion has been exhibited on the present Canadian Tax law and the coming 6 per cent. tax on manufacturers' sales that I believe there will next be an endeavor to assess a 1 per cent. "turn-over" tax. I am showing some figures below

compiled by J. Stanley Cooke of the Montreal Board of Trade, which make it appear that a turn-over tax would entail a smaller cost to the consumer, would incur less tax and profits in the price to the consumer, would bring in more to the federal treasury, and would work better in a number of ways. They also show that under the present Canadian sales tax the consumer is paying the highest tax and the Government is receiving the lowest portion of any method proposed or considered. All of this goes to show that public sentiment on the sales tax in Canada is by no means settled, nor do Canadians feel that they have yet found a sales tax which is working with entire satisfaction. Hope is each time pinned on the next system.

Anybody who wants to know something about the sales tax in Canada has only to mention that subject to an automobile dealer. If he has the same experience we did, there will be no lack of information. The average increase in the price of automobiles as a result of import duties and taxes runs about 42 per cent. There is a tax of 5 per cent. on the first \$1,200 value of the car and 10 per cent. on the value exceeding \$1,200. Then there is a sales tax of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the total value, thus increasing the specific excise rates to $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Exclusive of import duties these taxes greatly increase the cost of a car.

One of the greatest claims for the sales

STATEMENT SHOWING RESULTS OF SEVERAL SYSTEMS OF TAXES ON SALES, CALCULATED ON MATERIAL OF A VALUE OF \$1,000,000 MANUFACTURED AND SOLD THROUGH REGULAR TRADE CHANNELS: MANUFACTURER TO WHOLESALE—WHOLESALE TO RETAILER—RETAILER TO CONSUMER.

	Price to Consumer	Tax and profits thereon included in price to Consumer	Tax paid to federal treasury	Percentage of price to consumer added by tax and profits thereon	Percentage of price to consumer paid to Government
Present sales tax applied with addition of usual profits...	\$3,714,212	\$239,837	\$119,618	6.45	3.22
Tax applied on manufacturers' sales only, at 6%, with intermediate profits.....	3,696,735	222,360	118,295	6.01	3.2
Tax applied on manufacturers' sales only, at $7\frac{1}{2}$ %, with intermediate profits..	3,755,799	281,424	150,232	7.5	4
Turn-over tax at 1% applied four times and included in overhead in each sale.....	3,615,449	141,074	88,140	3.9	2.43
Turn-over tax at $1\frac{1}{4}$ % applied four times and included in overhead in each sale.....	3,687,576	213,201	133,502	5.78	3.62

NOTE: This table is based on an addition of 85.3% by manufacturer to the value of raw materials including manufacturers' costs and profits, and on gross profit of 25% for wholesaler and 50% for retailer.

tax has been that it is simple. Is it? We asked ourselves this question many times before we started in to study the Canadian system. In all truth and earnestness, we can now say that the system is not simple. Making out a sales-tax return apparently causes taxpayers of Canada little trouble except that it has to be done every month and requires some time. I have heard few objections to the bit of work involved in filling out the returns. However, there is a great deal of difficulty on the part of taxpayers in understanding just how the provisions of the tax apply.

For instance, the printing trades were for a while greatly confused as to their classification. Were they exempt because they made goods "to the order of each individual customer"? Or were they subject to the tax because they sold "exclusively by retail"? Printers, bakers, candy stores were puzzled as to whether they were taxable. I would like to give examples of their difficulties but space does not permit.

A Canadian accountant told us that the sales tax was easier to avoid than the income tax. He says it may be avoided by the wholesaler easily and that the small retail concern, with no elaborate system and with but one man in charge of its records, can report sales or fail to report them as he sees fit. I can see how this might easily occur.

Manufacturers in Canada do not particularly like the sales tax, if we may judge from the opinion of dozens of them in different parts of the Dominion. They are in the best position to pass the tax on, so they are almost friendly toward the new 6 per cent. tax effective next year. Although they realize in the case of package goods, selling at a standard price, such as already mentioned in this article, that it will be hard to pass on even the 6 per cent. tax, the majority of them seem to think that the new rate will be more agreeable to them.

Business enterprise ordinarily is satisfied with a net return of from 5 per cent. to 7 per cent. on gross sales. This is not always the case, but I am stating this to be generally true because I have gained this information from many sources. The present Canadian sales tax of $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., etc., where it cannot be passed on, must be absorbed as on all classes of proprietary goods. It thus cuts the return of

5 or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to a half or a third of the net margin. This is a point worthy of consideration by any country contemplating a sales tax.

At the beginning of this article, it was my idea to say nothing regarding Canada's miscellaneous sales taxes but simply to touch the big sales tax. However, Senator Smoot and other advocates of the sales tax in Congress are planning to introduce what they call a "luxury tax." A glance at Canada's so-called luxury tax will help us in considering any which may be proposed in our own Congress at its next session.

Canada has a number of nuisance taxes. She has one on receipts for amounts over \$10, on postage stamps, on notes and checks, even on matches, cigarettes, and other commodities. There can be no question in the mind of anyone who has spent much time in different parts of Canada that these luxury taxes—or, as they call them in Canada, "nuisance taxes"—are most thoroughly detested. They are in direct opposition to the line of thought which prompted the present tax on manufacturers and wholesalers or jobbers. The luxury or nuisance taxes apply on sales in such a way as to make them offensive to the purchaser. Briefly, I might say this: The receipt tax is in every sense of the word a nuisance and inconvenience. The check tax has been a source of complaint from time to time, and to such an extent that the maximum amount of tax applicable in each case has been reduced. The tax on matches is perhaps the most irritating of all, as matches are absolute necessities to thousands and most of those thousands are poor. Canada's experience with luxury or nuisance taxes is not encouraging.

It would be quite impossible for me to travel through the Dominion of Canada on this investigation without forming some opinion as to how the Canadian sales tax would operate in the United States. I have preferred to render this report of conditions in Canada without injecting my personal views to any material extent. I am confident, though, that the readers will not need any recommendation or criticism of mine in order to determine from the facts I have given whether this system is operating with such success in Canada that it would be a desirable one for Uncle Sam to adopt.

THE BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

BY RICHARD T. ELY

(Professor of Political Economy, University of Wisconsin)

"IT IS what the mind sees that fascinates," says Mr. A. S. M. Hutchinson, in describing the romance of business as it appears to one of his heroines, who finds romance in Bagehot's "Lombard Street." Building and loan associations as a title may seem dull and prosaic in the extreme to one who does not see through the words and beyond the words the vision that those words convey to the constructive imagination. To the seeing mind there is both fascination and romance in the building and loan associations of the United States; for these local organizations, humble in origin, have given us homes, real homes, not merely by the thousand but by the hundred thousand.

Real Meaning of the American Home

The present writer has traveled in many lands and always returns with the conviction that America is beyond all other countries the land of happy, pleasant homes—not apartments, not rented houses, not mere picturesque cottages, but real homes, owned by those who live in them. The significance of this in some of its aspects is seen in the French saying that a man will fight for his home, but not for his boarding-house, and this saying can be extended to cover apartments, and so forth. Who cannot shut his eyes and see the typical American home—its pleasing lawn, its trees, casting a pleasant shade, its vegetable garden and fruit trees; the shelter of the family? And no one instrumentality or agency is responsible for so many of these homes as the building and loan associations of the United States. These associations are united in a League which has fittingly adopted this slogan: "The American home, the safeguard of American liberties." Think about it, reader, and let the vision grow on you. Do you not see that in the building and loan associations we are dealing with an

institution that is promoting the national welfare and is giving a firm foundation for permanent national existence?

Associations with Three Billions in Assets

And how many of these building and loan associations are there? And what is their magnitude? They are increasing in number and in assets and by the time new figures are presented, they are at least a little behind actual achievements. Suffice it to say that there are now over 10,000 local associations and that their assets exceed \$3,300,000,000. In a recent address, Miss Ann E. Rae, the very efficient president of the League, and the only woman who has ever held the position, gives us the following statement in regard to the six States that lead in this wonderful work of home promotion:

In our country, January 1st, Pennsylvania led our States, with total assets of \$624,000,000; Ohio second, with \$564,000,000; but last Thursday I was surprised to hear the report of Mr. Tannehill, the State Banking Superintendent of the Building and Loan Division of Ohio, give total assets of that State of almost \$650,000,000—a most wonderful increase for the few months. New Jersey, our thrifty little neighbor, was third, with fully \$360,000,000; Massachusetts fourth, with about \$225,000,000; Illinois fifth, with over \$200,000,000, and our Empire State of New York sixth, with fully \$155,000,000.

Remarkable Record of Niagara Falls

We could continue indefinitely giving statistical data for different States and cities, representing financial achievement, but in this brief article we must omit other data than those that refer to the Niagara Falls Permanent Savings and Loan Association, of which Miss Rae is president, located in a city of some 60,000 inhabitants. It has now assets of nearly \$8,000,000, and over 12,000 members, who are practicing thrift and are saving for home-building, and for several years there has not been a single foreclosure and "no member has



MISS ANN E. RAE, PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE
OF BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS

ever lost his home because of non-payment of dues."

What the Building Association Does

In general we all know what building and loan associations are and only a few words of description will be given to their history and the nature of their activities. Building societies in England can be traced as far back as 1798, but in this country the first association was established in 1831, in Philadelphia; and Pennsylvania, their birth-place, still leads the country, as we have just seen. They are, to state it briefly, coöperative institutions, furnishing credit to their members for the construction of homes. The typical proceeding is for a person who desires to buy or build a home to take out shares corresponding to the size of loan that he wants and make monthly payments over a period of years, until the value of the shares equals the value of the loan, when the loan is paid by the matured shares. If one desires a more formal definition it may be given in the words of Mr. Henry S. Rosenthal, the veteran worker in the field and the

editor of the *American Building Association News*, the official organ of the League:

The building association is a mutual, coöperative, financial institution, usually operating under articles of incorporation issued by the State and composed of members who have thus associated themselves for their mutual benefit and financial advantage. The membership of a building association may be broadly divided into two classes, designated savings members and borrowing members. The former use the association as a place where they may deposit from time to time such sums as they are able to spare from their wages, salary or other income. The borrowing members use the association as a place where they can borrow funds for use in buying, building or repairing a home or for any other useful purpose, and at the same time repay their loans systematically with their savings. The members save money together; they lend money to each other; they divide their profits with each other; they work together to help each other.

Typical Results

The time it takes to pay off a loan on the installment plan varies according to the amount one pays weekly or monthly. The plans of the Niagara Falls Association, which are typical, provide for repayment in from eight to twelve years. The following is quoted from Miss Rae's booklet describing the plan called "Installment Shares," as operated by her Association, and gives the results actually attained:

A method which inculcates thrift systematically and paves the way for acquiring a home, if desired, by encouraging a regular weekly or monthly saving. Anyone can become a member by investing 25 cents. No charge to join now. No account too large or too small. See what has been done—for example:

25 cents per week, for about eight years, with profits, will amount to	\$130
50 cents per week, for about eight years, with profits, will amount to	260
\$1 per week, for about eight years, with profits will amount to	520
\$2 per week, for about eight years, with profits will amount to	1040
\$3 per week, for about eight years, with profits will amount to	1560
\$4 per week, for about eight years, with profits will amount to	2080
\$5 per week, for about eight years, with profits, will amount to	2600
\$7 per week, for about eight years, with profits will amount to	3640

We have never credited less than 6 per cent. compounded on Installment Shares.

As an Investment Proposition

It is to be emphasized that, in addition to those desiring to build, there are those who avail themselves of the excellent opportunities these associations afford for investment. Many associations pay 6 per cent.

on savings of investors and in the case of associations corresponding to the true mutual type, the income up to \$300 is free from Federal income tax. In the case of an association paying 6 per cent. per annum, as very many of them do, this would be \$5,000, but if the association pays only 5 per cent. on the shares of those who are making investments, the income on a capital of \$6000 would be free from Federal income tax. According to the present law, the exemption does not last beyond 1927, but it may be safely said that if any income tax-exemption is warranted, it is this very modest one, limited to an income of \$300 and encouraging investments for the construction of homes. This should be the last exemption to go, if it is to go at all. The following words from Miss Rae's address, already referred to, should be weighed well:

When you business men and women take shares in an association it is not only for the purpose of saving and making money for yourselves, but you also in a broad sense fulfil an obligation to your community, because when you help a member to own a home, you oftentimes change a half-hearted citizen into a full-fledged patriot and the strength of our Republic lies in its happy homes. No Bolshevism or any other 'ism with the man or woman who has a snug savings account or owns his or her own home!

Service, unselfish service, is one of our keynotes, and we believe like our Rotarian brothers that "He profits most who serves best." The Savings and Loan Association firmly established in the confidence and good will of the masses, can coax savings from hiding places that few banks could ever reach, as we are strictly mutual and coöperative in our relations with our members.

Idealism that Works!

Attending the convention of the Illinois League, held in St. Louis, in October, the writer was especially impressed with a novel kind of idealism and enthusiasm. There was humanitarian warmth in abundance in this group of visionaries, but they were visionaries in the literal sense of men and women having a vision—not in the sense of Utopians.

What was so striking was the hard-headedness of the idealism, as well as its downright integrity. In a gathering of Socialists one would not have found more idealism; but in the St. Louis gathering there was a discussion of sound legislation for safe-guarding investments, of well-tested practices, a denunciation of faulty legislation in some quarters, permitting fraudulent concerns promising the impossible to masquerade as building and loan associations; a discussion of accounting

methods, and so forth, just as one would find in a gathering of "old-line" bankers.

All plans are based upon rights of private property, fulfilment of contracts and "progress without confiscation," which might well be taken as a motto. So carefully have these associations been managed that in many of the States a failure is almost unknown and has been for many years. No suggestion was made of taxation or other measures to "swat the rich," but the aim in the minds of all was to build up the small man without pulling down others. So evident is the success achieved, so great its magnitude, that it did not occur to anyone to bring forward panaceas, such as cheap money, price-fixing, government purchase of surpluses, etc. From beginning to end, no demagoguery!

At present the number of persons in these associations is estimated at 7,000,000; but Miss Rae, in her inspiring address at St. Louis, placed as a goal 70,000,000 people interested in building and loan associations. This so fired another speaker that he said that, every member of his family being already a holder of shares in an association, he was within the next year going to see that every one of his grandchildren, ranging in age from three months to seven years, should be a subscriber for shares, while Mr. Rosenthal, later in conversation, said that he had already seen that his grandchildren had memberships in building and loan associations. Thus we make progress toward the 70,000,000!

Accumulating Real Wealth as a Basis of Credit

As credit institutions these associations are unexcelled, for the reason that while they furnish credit they encourage the accumulation of wealth, which is the basis of credit; for credit finds its limitations in actually existing wealth. It is for this reason that general participation in these associations is desirable and that it should not be limited to those who contemplate the use of funds for building. Savers and investors are important, as well as savers and borrowers.

It needs only suitable publicity, as to the splendid returns, coupled with the maximum safety, to double the investment and to double the amount available for homes, an amount now sadly inadequate in most places to meet the demands of would-be home owners. Every investor not only has a good return but he may at the same time

enjoy the consciousness that he is aiding in the construction of homes. The *Magazine of Wall Street*, in its issue of October 27th, classifies investments and in its List No. 1, for those who can not afford to take risks, includes three kinds of investments, namely, savings banks, building and loan associations and United States Treasury certificates. The average return from these, as given, is 4.33 per cent. Building and loan associations, however, exceed in returns the other two investments in this class.

Needs of the Present—Legislation, Publicity, Education

A great work needs to be done in the immediate future to advance still further the work of the building and loan associations. The legislation in many of the States is satisfactory; for example, in New York and Wisconsin, where these associations are placed under the Banking Department. In other States legislation is defective and the task is to bring the backward States up to the level of the best. Standardization in practice and procedure is now needed. Publicity has already been mentioned, but it can scarcely be emphasized too strongly. The extent to which ignorance about these associations prevails is astounding.

But the greatest need to-day is education and research, because education and research must carry with them most other things needed. This has been recognized recently and an educational committee of four has been appointed, representing the United States League of Building and Loan Associations, as follows: W. B. Whitlock, of Springfield, Illinois, chairman; Franklin P. Stevens, of Kansas City, Missouri; R. Holby Myers, Los Angeles, California, and Richard T. Ely, of Madison, Wisconsin. This is a committee primarily on text-books, but it must necessarily concern itself with the whole field of education and research. In addition, there exists the American Savings, Building and Loan Institute, of which Mr. Frank A. Chase is the director. This incorporated, non-profit, educational institution has been endorsed by the League and is coöperating with the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities, of which the present writer is director—also an incorporated, non-profit institution.

Strange as it may seem, there is no proper, adequate text-book in regard to building and loan associations and from the

point of view of education and research almost everything remains to be done. So urgent is the demand for literature that Mr. Chase has been instructed by the trustees of his Institute to drop everything else and concentrate upon the preparation of a text-book, as the first of the needed things, and is now engaged in the preparation of this work with the coöperation of the staff of the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities; for obviously home building and ownership belong to the field of land economics.

At first building and loan associations were small affairs, as most of them still are, and men without special training were quite competent for their management, and we must pay a tribute to those who up to the present time have so managed these associations, with little compensation and often at a great sacrifice, that failure is almost unknown. But now the magnitude of operations has so increased that we need trained men and organization of workers like that of the American Bankers Institute, with education in our various schools, colleges and universities. Men must be professionally trained as administrators, and all this is a recognized task, upon which systematic work has begun and will be continued. This matter is receiving attention at the present time by an educational federation representing the United Y. M. C. A.'s of the United States, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, and the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities.

What is going on in this field of land utilization as exemplified by the building and loan associations is part and parcel of one of the greatest educational movements of modern times, namely, the organization of great occupations and industries for education and for scientific, fearless research, by independent, untrammelled, educational institutions like the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities, which is engaged similarly in the organization of real estate and public utilities. Very significant is the following quotation from a letter, addressed to the present writer by Professor John C. Parker, chairman of the committee of the National Electric Light Association on Coöperation with Educational Institutions, the occasion of the letter being an address given before the National Electric Light Association at its annual convention, last June:

Referring specifically to your address to be given to the Association next week, I believe that you can well stress the fact that no big national industry has anything to fear from impartial investigation and dissemination of truth—that on the contrary it has everything in the world to gain. Equally, I think it important that the Association get something of what you suggested this noon, namely: Truth which hurts will enable us to order our affairs in the way in which they must inevitably be ordered in the long run.

If you can say a word or two about academic freedom, the absolute necessity for it, and the value of it to us in a selfish way, this will be of very consider-

able value. I think too that you might advantageously tell the Association something about the character of the academic mind in its freedom from either conservatism or radicalism.

It can not be said that this attitude toward fearless research by independent organizations is universal. What can be said is that it represents the state of mind of those of the leaders who are making the future. Nothing is more promising than the great educational work now going on.

THE WHEAT SURPLUS MYTH

BY HON. E. C. LITTLE

[Congressman Little of Kansas, to whom further reference will be found in our editorial pages, sums up in the present article a point of view regarding the depression of wheat prices that he defends with statistics and that deserves consideration. Mr. Little is entering upon his fourth term in Congress from the Second Kansas District—THE EDITOR]

RECENTLY a very distinguished gentleman said that he was not much interested in the wheat surplus question; that what he wanted was a remedy. There is no wheat surplus, and the only remedy necessary is to make all the people know that fact. Then the law of supply and demand will go into effect and the farmer will get a reasonable price.

Farmers raise wheat to sell. Whenever they sell all they have, there can be no surplus. Whether they sell it to Cleveland or Constantinople is of no importance whatever. In 1922 the farmers raised 862,000,000 bushels and sold every bushel, except 35,000,000 reserved because they so desired. In 1923 the farmers raised only 781,000,000, and that they will sell every bushel of it is obvious. There has never been the slightest pretext for this hullabaloo about a surplus. This surplus bubble is as cruel a fake as was ever perpetrated on our farming people; and when the facts are presented and understood the only pretext for buying wheat at less than cost will have disappeared.

The wheat speculators raised a hue and cry that there was a tremendous oversupply. Unfortunately, some farm leaders believed this story, and asked that the Government buy the surplus which did not exist. Wheat that should have brought at least \$1.25 was sold for from 70 cents to 95 cents for months; and the farmers have already lost \$50,000,000 at least.

If during a single week the newspapers would simply publish the facts, by December 1 wheat would be selling everywhere for at least \$1.25, and all good milling wheat would soon bring \$1.50.

That is the remedy; and if it is tried we shall need no other, before the next crop.

Only 781,000,000 Bushels This Year

The figures I am presenting are all from the Department of Agriculture, except as otherwise indicated. On November 3, Secretary Wallace said that we had sowed 80,000,000 and would feed to the stock 39,000,000 bushels. The Department announced that we had exported 70,000,000 bushels by October 1. Subtracting this 189,000,000 from 781,000,000, the total crop, we have 593,000,000 bushels remaining to eat, from crop to crop this year.

The Department of Agriculture has been good enough to furnish me with the figures for production and consumption during the last twenty-two years. They state that the average per capita consumption of wheat during that period has been 5.39 bushels. If each of our 110,000,000 people eat this year as much as they have been eating regularly for twenty-two years, they will consume 593,000,000 bushels of wheat, which is just exactly what they have to eat.

Year before last they ate 5.8 bushels each. For eight of the twenty-two years, they have averaged that much or more, and in four of those years they ate six bushels,

If they eat six bushels this year, they will consume 660,000,000 and be compelled to import 67,000,000 bushels. If they eat 5.8, they will consume 638,000,000 bushels. Only two times in twenty-two years have they eaten as little as 4.5 bushels per capita. This year wages are high and wheat is cheap. Secretary Wallace estimates that we shall eat this year 537,000,000 bushels, about 4.88 bushels per capita. If that is correct, we shall have left over for export the difference between that and 593,000,000 bushels, which is 56,000,000 bushels. If exports continue as since harvest, that will all be shipped abroad by Christmas. There is slight chance for any surplus to be left on the farmers' hands in the United States.

The World Crop Fake

The *Wall Street Journal* says that the world crop this year is 3,343,000,000, and the Department states that the world crop is 3,409,000,000 bushels. The figures furnished me by the Department show that in the normal years before the war, including 1910-11-12-13-14-15, the average world crop per annum was 3,855,000,000 bushels. In other words, the average normal world's crop in ordinary times is about 500,000,000 bushels greater than the crop this year.

The *Wall Street Journal* said that their estimate was "exclusive of Russia"; but that requires explanation. It included the supply from the old Russian provinces of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Finland, and Bessarabia. As for the remainder of Russia, last year we shipped them wheat so they would not starve; and the Department informs me that their crop this year is no larger than it was last year when we fed them. The claim that the world crop contains a great oversupply is the most vicious and miserable fake since the Mississippi bubble exploded; and it was perpetrated undoubtedly to force the farmer to sell his wheat for less than cost.

Not Enough Wheat for Our Home Use

Hon. E. L. French, of the Department of Agriculture of the State of Washington, has said: "The simple and honest truth of the case is that, outside of the Pacific Coast States, the United States has not produced this year enough wheat for domestic consumption. There is not in the United States to-day enough milling wheat to supply the needs of the mills or furnish the flour needed for home use."

On November 6, Congressman Anderson, chairman of the Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry and presiding officer of the National Wheat Conference in Chicago in June, said: "Our own surplus, in my judgment, is very small. I do not think we have any surplus of good milling wheat." As Congressman Anderson thinks that we should cut the American acreage 10 per cent. in order to restore American wheat prices, this admission is all the more valuable. Milling wheat is the only wheat that is fit to eat. Wheat that is fit to eat is the only wheat that we can sow, and if Congressman Anderson and Mr. French are right, as is now practically conceded by everybody, we have not in this country enough wheat for feed and seed at this moment.

The European Fable

Our farmers have been constantly menaced with the threat that Europe will not buy. According to the Department's figures, we exported in the year beginning July 1, 1918, 287,000,000 bushels; beginning July 1, 1919, 220,000,000; beginning July 1, 1920, 366,000,000; and beginning July 1, 1921, 279,000,000 bushels, making 1,152,000,000 in four years after the war. Information from the Department indicates that in the fifth year we exported about 198,000,000 bushels, making a total in five years of 1,350,000,000 bushels of wheat that American farmers sold to Europe. For this they must have received at their farms about \$1,150,000,000, which they would never have received if, after the war, we had adopted the proposal to cut down American acreage until we had no wheat to export.

Has there ever been such a Munchausen tale as this talk about the European market having disappeared? According to Prof. Alonzo Taylor of Stanford, the principal speaker at the National Wheat Conference in Chicago in June, in the five years before the war Europe, outside of Russia, produced an average of, roughly speaking, 1,300,000,000 bushels each year. While the data are a bit confusing, I challenge denial of the statement that Europe including Russia has never since the war produced that much wheat in any year; and of course they will, as Secretary Wallace said in July, continue to purchase for some time.

Fairy Tales from Southern Lands

Probably the most absurd of all the fakes is this talk about Argentina and Australia.

They will not thresh a bushel of wheat below the equator for some weeks yet to come; and the reader knows just as much about how much wheat will be produced in Argentina and Australia as anybody in the United States.

Congressman Anderson, who presided at the Chicago Wheat Conference, officials of the Department of Agriculture, and many who had believed there was a great surplus, now concede that there is no surplus. They argue that while there is ample market for all the wheat in the world, the farmers can't sell it high enough to make a profit, and must quit planting it.

If there is a market ample to consume all wheat which would include people who would want to eat it all, the question of price is simply a question as to whether the buyer or the seller is the more clever. If the Department of Agriculture will take half as good care of the wheat grower as the Liverpool and Chicago Boards of Trade take of the wheat buyers, the price will rise and farmers will get enough for their wheat so that they can sell it and make a profit. "It is naught saith the buyer, but he goeth his way and he boasteth." If the bill to stabilize the price of wheat which I introduced in the last Congress had passed, the Department of Agriculture would have been able to protect the interests of those who raise the wheat for the world's flour.

If there really were 200,000,000 bushels of wheat more than we can use, wheat would be bringing 50 cents a bushel instead of \$1.07 as it does in eastern Kansas now. No wheat buyer would pay \$1 for wheat if he really believed that there would be 200,000,000 bushels on hand next June when harvest begins. If there were 400,000,000 bushels oversupply in the world, we wouldn't have shipped 70,000,000 bushels abroad since harvest.

The Canadian Ogre

Secretary Wallace says that the United States' crop of wheat is 81,000,000 bushels less than it was last year. The Canadians claim their crop is 67,000,000 bushels

greater than last year. Thus North America has produced 14,000,000 bushels less wheat than in 1922. There is nothing to be scared about, but let us be reasonable.

Ex-Governor John W. Leedy, of Kansas, has for a long time been a resident of the province of Alberta, Canada. Governor Leedy is as good a judge of crops and crop statistics as any man in North America. On October 31, at Alberta, Canada, he wrote: "The estimate of the Canada wheat crop is 467,000,000, and we have the goods. But only about one-half of it is threshed, and most of the unthreshed portion is in the shock, and if snow comes, which sometimes happens at this time of year, it would be a serious loss. The straw is heavy and the shortage of help is such that farmers have to help each other thresh and this prevents stacking. But if snow does not fall for a month they will be in fair shape." If it does not snow in Alberta by December 1, the Canadians will be able to supply the deficit here if we eat as much per capita this year as we have in former years. As it has already snowed in Maryland, gentlemen of sporting proclivities who like to gamble on the wheat market might place their bets as to whether it will snow in Winnipeg before Christmas.

Forty-odd years ago my father managed to put in 240 acres of winter wheat. That summer I slept on the prairie, and broke prairie sod for that sowing. As the wheat came up that fall the grasshoppers hatched out and ate every spear of it. We never had a dollar from those fields. All these predictions of wheat crops are subject to the grasshoppers in Kansas or the snow in Saskatchewan. The wheat crop is a gamble; and the gamblers' "advance information" has been for centuries the device by which all over the world they secured the farmers' wheat almost without money and without price.

We must realize that this imaginary surplus is the farmers' greatest difficulty. Let us tell the truth, print the facts, wreck this cruel propaganda, and secure for the American farmer at least a cost price for his wheat.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

America In or Out?

THE question whether or not the United States should go into foreign politics is ably discussed by former Senator Albert J. Beveridge in the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for November 17th. Mr. Beveridge undoubtedly represents an important section of American public opinion in the stand that he has taken in opposition to our joining the League of Nations or the World Court. No one in the country is better qualified to present that point of view and assuredly there has not yet appeared a more succinct statement of the case against American participation in the political affairs of Europe.

Mr. Beveridge devotes the first part of his article to showing that the condition of "isolation," as applied to the United States,

is not now and never has been a fact in respect to finance, commerce, or social intercourse. Foreign loans helped us to win our independence from Great Britain, helped saved the Union in the Civil War, and aided powerfully in our economic development—the building of railroads and every form of industrial enterprise. On the other hand, about \$10,000,000,000 of our money was spent during the late war, and it is estimated that since the Armistice \$4,000,000,000 has been invested abroad in the form of loans, extension of credits, purchase of government and municipal bonds, and even industrial securities. During the past season American tourists left more than \$300,000,000 in Europe—chiefly in France. After the Japanese earthquake untold millions of



PUTTING PROPAGANDA "SALT" ON THE AMERICAN EAGLE'S TAIL

From the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia)

our money were spent for relief in addition to all that has gone to Europe in recent years for humanitarian objects.

In what respect, then, asks Mr. Beveridge, are we isolated?

We are isolated solely and exclusively in the political sense—solely and exclusively in the sense that we are not mixed up in the quarrels, intrigues, plots, ambitions and hatreds of older countries; and we should bear in mind that all these alien antagonisms and aspirations—every one of them—have their roots deep in the soil of a distant past, deep in centuries-old racial conflicts, deep in fundamental opposing interests.

The American people do not and can not understand any of these profound elements of the foreign situation, because without extensive and painstaking research and thorough and prolonged study, supplemented by intimate personal contact with those people, it is impossible to comprehend or even apprehend the various forces that move them.

This political aloofness is the only attitude in which America can, by any possibility, be said to be isolated. Yet is not this exactly the kind of isolation we want and ought to have for our own good? And that of the world also? Suppose we did not have this political isolation vouchsafed us by our history, our traditions and, above all, by our geographical situation on the globe; is there anything we would not give to get it?

Suppose we surrender our traditional American policy of political independence? Would we not thereby increase our risk of getting into future wars? After the blunder of the German high command in attacking us and forcing us into the war it is hardly to be expected, thinks Mr. Beveridge, that hereafter any other nation at war with another nation will repeat that folly. We then

demonstrated our man power, our financial strength, our physical resources and our general military efficiency. When we are attacked we make war, but not otherwise. Germany brought her defeat upon herself.

The real question, according to Mr. Beveridge, may be stated thus: Is it best for us—or the world—to scuttle our traditional American policy of political detachment from foreign controversies and engage in world politics? As Mr. Beveridge looks at it, the basic fact of American life makes it disastrous to have any political connection whatever with old and alien peoples. That basic fact is the racial structure of our population. We Americans are not yet racially homogeneous; as yet we are racially heterogeneous. At the present time no one racial group among us outnumbers all the others. Whatever may be thought of the advantages or disadvantages of this situation, it is our job as a nation to weld these different racial groups into an ethnological unit. So long as we attend exclusively to American affairs, the welding of our racial groups makes progress, but the moment we take sides in alien quarrels the welding process ceases, and the dissolving racial groups think, act and vote upon foreign rather than American considerations.

Mr. Beveridge is convinced that, from every point of view, America should maintain her traditional policy of friendship for all nations and no political connection with any nation. That policy, he holds, is best, not for us only but for the world.

Family Allowances for Workmen in France and Belgium

IN THE *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington, D. C.), Miss Mary T. Waggaman presents a comprehensive and well-documented account of the recent development in France and Belgium of the so-called "family wage" system. It is now a widespread practice in these and other European countries to pay supplementary wages (*allocations familiales*) to workmen who have children, or, usually, more than one or two children. In France, where the system prevails more extensively than anywhere else, it represents one of the attempted solutions of the grave problem of depopulation. It has developed in a great variety of forms,

the relative merits of which have been the subject of an immense amount of discussion.

In consequence of this system a great number of French workmen receive substantial help from their employers in supporting their families in addition to similar allowances received from the Government. State family allowances have been granted under various conditions for a number of years, and in July, 1923, a law was passed which provided an annual allowance of 90 francs for each child under thirteen years of age in excess of three children in French families. With respect to the allowances paid by employers we read:

Even before the World War certain public agencies, large transportation companies, and important financial, industrial, and commercial establishments in France were also paying special allowances to the members of their personnel who had very young children or children who had not reached the working age. During the war the practice of granting these allowances was substantially extended, being taken up not only by additional individual employers but by groups of employers in the same industry or the same locality who formed compensation funds for the payment of these allocations. The Association of Metallurgists at Grenoble was a pioneer in establishing one of these compensation funds in 1916.

There are now 123 of these funds, which include a membership of over 7,600 undertakings. In addition, the system is being studied in various other industrial centers. It is estimated that 2,500,000 employees in France are entitled to benefit by family allocations through compensation funds or otherwise, and that the annual amount of such grants is over 300,000,000 francs (\$57,900,000, par).

There are two types of compensation funds: Regional or interprofessional, composed of chambers of commerce and federations of employers; and "corporative," organized according to industries.

Among the methods of granting these allocations are the following:

- (1) Increased allowance for second and subsequent children.
- (2) Same allowance for each child.
- (3) No allowance for first child or for first two children but high allowances for subsequent ones.
- (4) Same (rather low) allowance for first two children, increased allowance for subsequent ones.
- (5) High allowance for first or first two and lower for subsequent children.

A number of the family allocation funds also pay maternity benefits of from 100 to 250 francs (\$19.30 to \$48.25, par) and give nursing allowances or bonuses. For example, the Parisian intertrade and regional fund allows 30 francs (\$5.70, par) per month for 10 months for milk for an infant and 45 francs (\$8.60, par) in case the child is nursed by its mother.

These maternity benefits and nursing bounties are reported to have influenced the infant mortality rate, at times, beyond the most optimistic expectations. For example, in one district the awarding of a 10 months' nursing allowance in the amount of 15 francs (\$2.90, par) per month, together with a bonus granted by the municipality, had a profound effect upon the living conditions of infants, and after 13 months under this system mothers who nursed their children increased from 10 to 55 per cent. while infant mortality decreased "in the proportion of 5 to 1." The central committee on family allowances indorses without hesitation the extension of bounties for nursing mothers, and a growing number of funds are also advocating such extension.

Some of the longer established funds have taken into their service former Army nurses who visit the homes of the workers and assist, relieve, and counsel the mothers.

The splendid results secured by some funds have stimulated them to further efforts. They have set up medical clinics for children, given free surgical treatment and hospital care, and conducted preventorium with remarkable success.

It is interesting to note that the attitude of French workers is by no means univer-

sally favorable to the system of family allowances, as now in operation. The objection raised to it is that it is a form of social insurance which ought to be administered by the Government and not left to the voluntary action of employers. This view of the matter is expressed in the following resolution, which was submitted to the Seventeenth Congress of the General Confederation of Labor of France, held last February:

The congress considers that assistance for large families and maternity and nursing allowances constitute a form of social protection which should be organized by the community in the same way as protection against unemployment, sickness, disability, and old age. These questions can not be adequately dealt with by systematic resort to private charity or philanthropy, and such a system is liable to encourage extremely dangerous forms of dependence.

The congress warns the workers against the practice of granting additional wages for workers with families.

This measure was invented by the employers in the course of their contest with the trade-unions, and constitutes a danger to the latter. It has the effect of lowering wages, and it is liable to result in a conflict between the claims of workers with families and those of other workers.

If the measure is applied by individual employers only, it may encourage them to dismiss workers with families in order to decrease the costs of their undertaking. If it is applied with the assistance of compensation funds, it means that the employer is in possession of files giving particulars regarding his workers. He is thus enabled to interfere in the private life of the workers in an unjustifiable way, and an undesirable system of regulations is set up, by means of which the workers are kept in subjection, and all their efforts toward emancipation frustrated. In whatever way it is organized, the system in fact results in increasing the influence and means of domination at the disposal of capitalism.

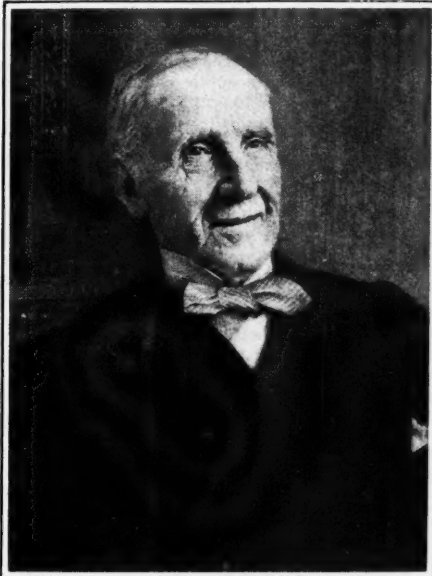
Instead of such false and dangerous philanthropic measures, the burden of which is, in the last resort, borne by the workers, the congress demands the establishment of minimum wages at rates fixed by the trade-unions.

The congress demands that an effective system of assistance for large families, in the form of family allowances and maternity and nursing benefits, should be organized by the community as a whole. The expenses should be covered by compulsory contributions from the employers and by contributions from the State. The management of the funds and the distribution of allowances should be entrusted to officially appointed committees, including representatives elected by the various interests concerned.

The right to family allowances is of a social character, and should be completely independent of employment. They should not be affected by the fluctuations of employment, and the families which are entitled to them should not lose them owing to sickness or to unemployment in any of its forms.

In Belgium, it is stated, there are from 225,000 to 250,000 workers and employees living under family allowances.

John Morley—British Statesman and Man of Letters



VISCOUNT MORLEY OF BLACKBURN, 1838-1923

THE death in September of Viscount John Morley of Blackburn called out from the British and American press such tributes as have not been paid to any British statesman since Gladstone, with the possible exception of Lord Bryce. Although at the beginning of the Great War in 1914 Lord Morley had resigned his place in the Government as Lord President of the Council, and had never re-entered public life, the British public could not forget his services as Irish Secretary and Indian Secretary, nor his many years in Parliament devoted to the policies of the Liberal party. Nor could it overlook the distinction that he had conferred on English letters from the days of his youth as a journalist to the completion of his great "Life of Gladstone," his "Studies in Literature," and, finally, his "Recollections."

Another well-known British publicist, Mr. H. W. Massingham, for many years an intimate friend and co-worker of Lord Morley, writing in *Current History* (New York) for November, suggests a comparison with Edmund Burke who, like Morley, was a combination of orator, philosopher and

statesman. Although not the equal of Burke in originality of conception, or in eloquence, Lord Morley was able to say that he had paved the way for a free Ireland and had pioneered in behalf of Indian self-government. Burke had never succeeded in either of those causes, although deeply interested in both.

The three articles of his [Morley's] creed were the supremacy of reason over authority, the supersession of the reign of force by that of justice and right, and the superior worth of representative institutions over all the forces and devices of autocratic power. These great doctrines Morley taught in many a volume of history, biography, and criticism. They are the great ornament of his career as well as the pith and soul of his witness to his time. He was not, like Bismarck or Lincoln, the leader of a nation in a mighty convulsion or the author of a deeply planned and powerfully wrought scheme of polity. He was never even the chief of a party organization. But it has been given to few men to exercise so profound an intellectual influence on the political thought of their age, and at the same time to have so large a share in molding its institutions.

As editor of the *Fortnightly Review* and of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, John Morley for many years exerted a powerful influence on the public opinion of Great Britain.

Throughout his life Morley was an anti-Jingo, a hater of war and the imperialism which he believed made for war. He was opposed to a British occupation of Egypt, and he was a vehement critic of the coercion of Ireland, on which the second Gladstone Government had entered, with much misgiving on the part of its chief. This policy Morley set himself to destroy, with the object of substituting the later Gladstonian recourse to the idea of government by consent, that is, by the people of Ireland. His crusade was a complete success. Morley was not a sensational writer; with flashes of fire and an undercurrent of emotional intensity he wrote in the main for intellectuals, and in a calm, rational spirit. But he was completely master of his subject, he had the exact well-documented style of the best French journalism, and he possessed the tone of authority. In fact, he had converted Gladstone, and when the Irish Secretary and the prime agent of the coercionist policy, W. E. Forster, fell, the axe had been laid to the "upas tree." The man who struck the first resounding blow was John Morley.

In the meantime, Morley had won his place as an essayist in contemporary literature. A brilliant study of Burke, written in 1867, was followed by famous monographs on Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau. Mr. Massingham is careful to point out that Morley was never a disciple of Rousseau's

doctrine of "Natural Rights," nor was he an anarchist.

He was a reformer, always siding with the school, in its earlier and later manifestations, which based its effort for the betterment of men's lot in the world on the theory that what experiences teaches us is best for the general happiness, not on a complete rearrangement of the social scene, irrespective of the limits of human nature, and the light which history throws on its workings. In a word, he was a utilitarian, not an idealist; a disciple of Mill, not of Rousseau.

In practical statesmanship Morley is credited, as we have seen, with having strongly influenced Gladstone's decision in favor of Home Rule for Ireland. Later, he was chosen by Gladstone as Irish Secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet. From 1898 until the return to power of the Liberals under Campbell-Bannerman in 1905, Morley was in Opposition, criticizing the Government's conduct of the War in South Africa. On the return of the Liberals to office he became Secretary of State for India. He resigned that office in 1910.

In a sketch which he contributes to the *Contemporary Review* (London) for November Mr. G. P. Gooch says:

For the last few years of his life Lord Morley lacked the physical energy to write books; but he retained his powers and his memory to the end. He continued to read omnivorously, and his friends will always picture him sitting at the fireside in his spacious library. Not less keen was his enjoyment, till within a day of his death, of the visits of his friends. It is difficult to describe the conversation of one whom Mrs. Asquith considers the best talker she ever knew. If it lacked the coruscations of Mr. Birrell, it possessed a subtle charm and stimulus of its own. He loved to propound large themes and to collect opinions on them—the decay of authority, the power of the press, the meaning of liberty and Liberalism, the influence of ideas and ideals on events, political prophecy, lost opportunities, the achievements of Bismarck and Cavour, the future of the Labor Party. There was never the slightest attempt on the part of the host to monopolize the conversation, but he would promptly challenge an incautious statement and compel its author to defend or withdraw it. His reminiscences ranged over the celebrities of two complete generations. He used to say that if he could call back one and only one of the companions he had lost he would choose Lord Acton.

Those who had the privilege to belong to Lord Morley's intimate circle will carry with them throughout life the memory not only of the statesman and writer who played a high and worthy part on the world's stage, but of the beloved friend who through the long years shared with them the costly treasures of his mind and heart.

A Journalist's Appreciation of W. T. Stead

IN OCTOBER the *Review of Reviews* of London, founded by W. T. Stead, appeared under new auspices, having been taken over by Mr. Wickham Steed, recently editor of the *London Times*, as owner and editor-in-chief. A promise is made that the independence and frankness which marked the magazine from the moment of its foundation in 1890 will be unswervingly maintained under the new management. In a tribute to the founder the present editor, Mr. Steed, says:

With many of his impulses I was in hearty sympathy. On some special questions I differed from him entirely. But I admired him always as the master-journalist, the devoted apostle of what he held to be for the public good, the enthusiast so convinced of the Austrian poet's claim:

"Through the enthusiast soul breatheth the Spirit Eternal,"

that he expected all obstacles to melt before the breath of his own ardent faith.

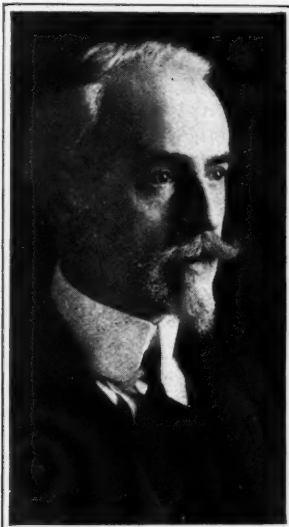
In his own way he sought to compass ends which, whether practical or visionary, were never ignoble. Charity he felt and practised—though few men burned with hotter scorn or fiercer hate of what he thought wrong. Duty abroad deprived me in 1920 of the honor, which I should have prized, of inau-

gurating the commemorative tablet to him near the old *Review of Reviews* office on the Embankment; but chance has now given me an opportunity, which I hope to seize, of conducting the review he founded as nearly in his spirit as differences of temperament and outlook, and changes of time and circumstance, may permit.

Successors of outstanding men have a choice between two methods of proving their fidelity to the work of their predecessors—by pedantic imitation, or by answering for themselves the question how those predecessors would have faced present issues. The War and its sequel have demolished the world W. T. Stead knew. He, whose campaign for the Navy at a critical hour was one of the foremost achievements of his life, had no lack of patriotism; and it is easy to imagine how vigorously he would have espoused the cause of Belgium in August, 1914. How eloquently, too, would he have dilated upon and expounded Edith Cavell's dying yet immortal exclamation, "Patriotism is not enough"; for he knew, as she knew, that love of country is the indispensable minimum for all who would truly promote brotherhood among the nations. His journeyings abroad had given him the power, rare among stay-at-home Britons, of seeing this country from without, and of meeting the claims of other countries in the constructive spirit that is born of ability to see things also from another's standpoint while searching for a common denominator between it and one's own. But, above all, he had courage and faith—courage to say fearlessly what he thought right, and faith to pursue unflinchingly the ideals in which he believed. In his example British journalists will

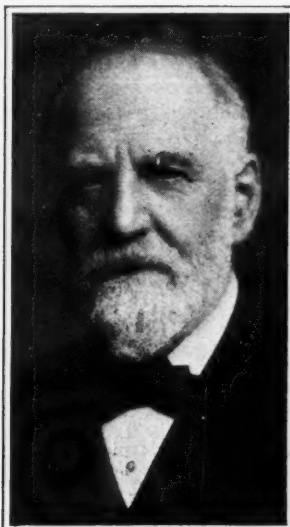
long find inspiration; and however widely and however often those who now conduct his *Review of Reviews* may find it necessary to depart from some of his minor traditions, they will seek faithfully to observe his major tradition—that of straightforward zeal in the public service.

While John Morley was editing the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1880-83, Mr. Stead was his assistant editor. After Mr. Morley entered Parliament, Stead became the responsible editor of the *Pall Mall* and remained in charge of the paper until 1889, when he resigned the editorship and founded his own magazine, the *Review of Reviews*. Mr. Stead, it will be recalled, went down on the ill-fated *Titanic* in 1912. Since the death of Lord Morley, in September last, news has come of the dissolution of the *Pall Mall* itself, one of



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MR. H. WICKHAM STEAD, THE
NEW EDITOR OF THE LONDON
"REVIEW OF REVIEWS"



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MR. W. T. STEAD AS HE AP-
PEARED IN THE LATER YEARS
OF HIS LIFE

the oldest newspapers in England, and under Morley and Stead one of the best.

Rock Carvings and Paintings of the Cro-Magnons in the Pyrenees

THE past two or three years have shown an enormous revival and extension of interest in the life of prehistoric and ancient races of man. Zealous explorers are at work—and in most instances their labors have already been richly rewarded in various parts of the world. In Egypt, in Mesopotamia, in Mongolia, in Central America and in the far Southwest of our own country, as well as in Europe, very remarkable discoveries have been made concerning the civilization of early races, both in historic and prehistoric times. None of these is more interesting than those which have added to our knowledge of that most gifted and fascinating race of early Europeans, the Cro-Magnons, who have left behind them, in the caves of the Pyrenees, a vivid witness of their life, not only in the bones discarded from their feasts, but also in the weapons and implements of stone and of bone which they employed, and, most remarkable of all, in the form of carvings and paintings upon

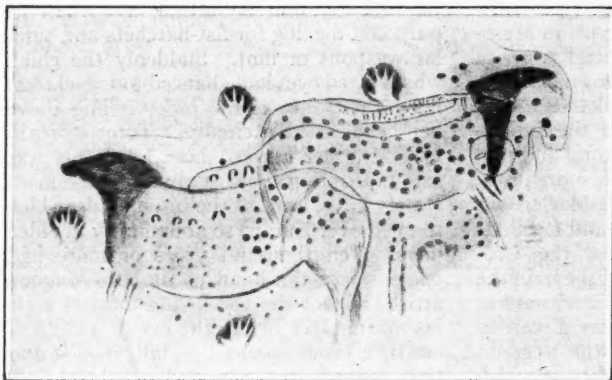
the rocky walls of the caves which gave them shelter.

It is only a few decades ago that a Spanish gentleman residing in this region and interested in archæology, took his little daughter with him one day into a cave where he purposed digging for fist-hatchets and similar weapons of flint. Suddenly the child, whose lifted eyes had chanced to travel from her father's face to the rocky ceiling above her head, cried excitedly, "Toros, toros!" Following her upward gaze, her father was astounded to behold a dim procession of stately bulls, lords of the bison herds, which roamed over Europe so abundantly in olden days. Ten thousand years or more had passed since the hand of the Cro-Magnon artist had put the last loving touches upon his masterpiece before the eye of a child of our own times chanced to fall upon it and thus opened up a new and delightful field of exploration to those interested in the development of the art instinct in man.

A few weeks before these words were written, the French Minister of the Department of Beaux Arts formally opened a Museum of Prehistoric Man at Eyzies, situated at the confluence of the Dordogne and the Vézère. In an article in *L'Illustration* (Paris) for October 13th, the writer, Jean Labadie, says happily that this museum will be the Louvre of that prehistoric realm of which this little commune is the capital, and within whose domain all the stages of primitive humanity are to be found. He continues:

About 1864, Edouard Lartet, found in the grotto of the Madeleine the first engraving upon ivory of the Age of the Reindeer (*i.e.*, the stone age)—that era whose later period (the one nearest to us) has since been called, for this reason, the Magdalenian period. The Cave of Cro-Magnon, close at hand, yielded later the typical skeleton of these primitive hunters of the reindeer, our supposed ancestors, whose descendants many anthropologists believe they recognize among the modern peasants of the Department—not to mention the Basques, their supposed brothers. A race still living and not less than fifteen thousand years old.

Some of the interesting objects very recently discovered in this region we owe to the zeal of the Abbé Lemozi. These include not only pictures of reindeer and other animals, but weapons, utensils and ornaments, as well as various tools including a knife, an awl, a burin and a possible surgical implement which the Abbé believes was employed in the operation of trepanning. The Cave of Murat, in the valley of the Alzou, was so particularly rich, both in pictures and in graving tools, as well as in calcined red earth, that it is believed to have been the dwelling place of a family of professional artists of the stone age.



PAINTINGS (IN YELLOW AND BLACK) UPON THE ROCK IN THE CAVERNS OF CABRERETS

The writer gives an interesting, if somewhat imaginary, picture of the life of the day and the preparation by the women of both food and raiment from the bountiful materials afforded by the reindeer—no wonder that this useful animal came to be associated later with the patron saint of childhood, Santa Claus! No wonder, either, that the dawning art instinct found pleasure in portraying the picturesque outlines and spreading antlers of this beneficent animal, to whom so much of the prosperity of the family was due.

But the horse was equally valued and was one of the chief sources of meat enjoyed by the family of the cave man, as is proved by the immense piles of the bones of this animal, evidently discarded from the banquet board—or shall we say the banquet stone? One of the most recent discoveries, a remarkable subterranean labyrinth, we likewise owe to the keen perceptions of a child:

In July, 1922, a boy of fourteen, the youthful David, resolved to visit, on his own account, a certain crevice in the ground near a grove of oaks, owned by his father. The aperture was narrow, but the boy was not fat. Leaping straight down for a distance of two yards, he came to the edge of a tunnel descending into the darkness at a slant of 45 degrees. Provided with a candle, the boy made his way into the gallery, which he found to grow wider as he advanced, . . . turning out to be doubtless the vestibule of a larger chamber. Much excited, David made his way back to the daylight and told his father of his adventure.

This exploit led to extensive exploration under the direction of the Abbé and the discovery of a number of subterranean chambers and galleries, furnished with strange and beautiful objects, made by the hand of nature from calcareous secretions. September 4, 1923, a great gallery, a hundred metres long by ten in width, was entered, upon whose walls were found some forty prehistoric animals, including mammoths, bison, horses and fish; these are painted in red and black or else engraved. There are also some ten detached images of human hands, together with a number of hieroglyphic signs. The meaning of the hands is not apparent. They are in yellow.

The British Raj versus the Maharaja of Nabha

THE presence of about 700 princes in India only enhances the complexity of that country's political problems. The total area of India is 1,809,629 square miles, and the total population, according to the census of 1921, is 319,000,000. Out of this, these princes rule over an area of 716,555 square miles with a population of about 71,939,187. The states vary in size from nineteen square miles to one as large as Italy. Though they are under the supreme control of the British Government, they enjoy, according to their respective treaty agreements, a certain degree of freedom in their internal administrations. And in lieu of the protection they receive from foreign invasions and internal revolutionary upheavals, they pay varying annual tributes to the British Raj. And the princes, in their turn, help in the continued British occupation of India by their loyalty to the British crown.

It is reported in the Indian papers and magazines that the Maharaja of Nabha was not famous for his loyalty to the British King. He even openly sided with the avowed opponents of British rule in India. Hence he had to abdicate; but the Indians themselves call this a dethronement. In one of his last letters to the Government of India the Maharaja said:

Under the conditions imposed upon me I recognize that I have no choice but to abdicate.

The charges against the Maharaja of Nabha are thus set forth by the British Government of India in a statement to the press:

Enquiry has shown that the Nabha police have intentionally fabricated cases against persons connected with the Patiala state with the object of injuring through them the Patiala Darbar. In these cases innocent men, some of them Patiala officials, have been convicted by Nabha courts on evidence which was entirely inadequate and in circumstances which prove complicity of officers of the Nabha judiciary in the injustice done. . . . The guilty knowledge of the chief minister of the state and of the chief police officer of most of the facts is beyond question. In one case the Maharaja was



THE MAHARAJA OF NABHA, WHO HAS ABDICATED

urged in clear terms to stop or postpone the proceedings and prove the truth of the case. In spite of this no steps were taken to have the wrong righted and the proceedings were permitted to take their course.

The *Akali-te-Pardasi* of Amritsar, the holy city of the Sikhs, comments as follows on the "abdication" of His Highness the Maharaja.

The British political agent, accompanied by a colonel, certain British officials and about 250 soldiers with three machine guns and provisions reached Nabha at 6:30 in the morning. They forcibly passed the sentries on guard and entered Hira Mahal Palace. The palace was surrounded by soldiers and machine guns. The Maharaja was told that he should prepare for his departure. In the meantime, Mr. Narsing Rao, the Chief Minister, also came and had a consultation with the British officers. The fort was also taken possession of, and guards placed there.

At 7:00 a "darbar" was held in the fort of all officials of the state who got 100 rupees or more as their monthly salary. They were told that the rule of the Maharaja Ripudaman Singh had come to an end, and that from that day the Government of India would carry on the administration of the state until the Tika Sahib became twenty-one years old. The Maharaja and the Chief Minister were not present at the Darbar.

At about 9:30 the Maharaja, with the Maharami and two servants, was sent away in a motor car to an unknown destination. Tears were falling from the eyes of the Maharaja while he got into the car. Sardar Kala Singh, chief of police, and Sardar Fateh Singh are under custody.

The Mahratta of Poona writes as follows:

The mystery in which it (the Nabha case) is shrouded rightly makes people rather suspicious of the drastic and unprecedented step taken by the

Government in taking over the administration of the state, although with a show of disinterestedness. . . . The general opinion among the Sikhs is that the Nabha-Patiala dispute has been made a pretext by the Government to get rid of a Sikh prince who was well-known for his liberal views and Sikh-Panthic sympathies. The Shiromoni Gurudwr Prabandhak Committee thinks that the abdication is not voluntary, but has been extorted by official pressure. . . . The conversation that passed between the Prince and two Sikh leaders who went to see the Maharaja of Nabha on hearing of his ab-

dications confirms the view that there is some ugly black cat working at the bottom of the whole affair. The visitors gathered that the Maharaja was constantly shadowed by his Ministers. He was not allowed free interviews with anybody and his correspondence was strictly censored. He was forced to write a letter of voluntary abdication, threatening that if he refused, he would be arrested and prosecuted in open court. When the statement was being made, it is said the Maharaja tore his hair and exclaimed several times, "Treachery, treachery, intrigue, intrigue."

Dempsey and Pasteur

"IS PUGILISM a characteristic of degeneration or a symbol of progress?" asks Graco P. Nebel in a contribution published in the October number of *Estudios* (Buenos Aires). This first query is followed by another:

The enormous popular enthusiasm, which appears to have concentrated all the national glory in the superiority of the muscles of one man—who cannot be glorified for anything else than his muscles—is it a symptom of intellectual and moral decadence, or, on the contrary, is it a forward step in the ascending path of civilization?

Then, without pausing to answer the former, Señor Nebel proceeds to analyze a reply made to the second question by a friend, who refers to the Dempsey-Firpo match as "this latest attack against civilization." To add force to his characterization of that encounter, the gentleman drew a parallel between the merits of the world's boxing champion and those of the benefactor of mankind, Dr. Louis Pasteur; and, says the author:

The antithesis was colossal. It was the opposition between muscle and brain, between the animal and the rational, between matter and spirit, between man and beast.

The pugilist, who, let us say, exchanges the reins of a truck driver for the gloves of a boxer, is presented in the ring, and after having become injured to blows, flattens out a few adversaries and is converted into a millionaire. What does the world owe him? Absolutely nothing. Not even a handful of sons to perpetuate the strength of his muscles.

The French savant developed an immense activity, he penetrated the mysteries of life, and became in truth the father of modern medicine, for, in the words of Lister, never had there existed a man to whom the medical sciences owed so much. He was a notable benefactor of humanity, and it can be said that he died poor.

There exists no possible parallel between the merits of the two nor between the manifestations of popular enthusiasm for both. . . .

The querist finds himself compelled to

acquiesce in the opinion expressed by this acquaintance, and sees in the homage accorded to muscle an atavistic retrogression to the mentality of the savage who beheld in physical force a guarantee of the common weal. But he makes one seemingly naive concession in favor of the noble art of self-defense, and suggests that should universal disarmament be ultimately effected international controversies might have to be settled with the gloves. "Happy then will be the people which possesses a few Dempseys or Firpos!"

Señor Nebel names two causes of the immense enthusiasm for boxing—first, a lack of reflexion, and secondly a predisposition on the part of the multitudes toward mass suggestion. He places the culpability for the popular excitation at the door of the newspapers, in turn motivated solely by commercialism. The sole beneficiaries of the sport, he says, are the organizers of the spectacle, the participants, and the winners of bets. It is always the masses who are brutalized.

Severe censure is directed at certain persons of prominence who express with great frequency the most lofty moral platitudes, but fail, when confronted by reality, to put their own admonitions into practice. In conclusion, the writer advocates as an antidote for retrogressive tendencies a widespread popular education in determining true social values.

His article is remarkable not only for the attitude of complete detachment with which the subject is approached, but chiefly for the utter lack of interest displayed in the person of his own compatriot Firpo, idol of the Argentine and erstwhile challenger of the "Yankee Colossus of the North." But many may be inclined to disagree with this indictment of an ancient sport.

Pavlowa and the Art of Ajanta

WHAT Edwin Arnold did with the magic of the poetry of his "Light of Asia" long ago, Anna Pavlowa is doing today with the romance of her dance. Her Ajanta ballet, depicting the great renunciation of Buddha, has aroused intense interest in the ancient art of India in all the continents of the world—especially in America, where we know so little about the immensity and the intrinsic beauty of the neglected art treasures of India.

Mme. Pavlowa spent the last season in the Orient. There she studied the oriental art of dancing in China, Japan and India. But, it is reported that she received the most illuminating inspiration when she stood face to face with the almost uncanny mural paintings in the Buddhist cave monasteries of Ajanta in the state of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad in Southern India.

These monasteries and universities were excavated and built into the living hills in a solitary gorge most suited for spiritual detachment and devotional meditation. The walls and ceilings of these halls are decorated with vibrant fresco paintings of rare beauty and rarer combination of colors. The construction of these majestic Buddhist monasteries began more than 200 years before the Christian era. For many centuries they were lost to the public, but were discovered in the Nineteenth Century. But very little interest has yet been shown in Ajanta. Even the educated people of India know little of Ajanta and its message to art.

Mme. Pavlowa's art instills life into the mystic figures of these paintings. The color design of the costumes and the delicate intricacies of the ornaments have been faithfully copied by Hindu and European artists, and executed by specialists in London and Paris. London received this ballet with enthusiasm. And according to Indian papers just received it is evident that the Indians are thankful to Mme. Pavlowa for thus bringing India's art to the attention of the most critical in Europe and America. Says an English art critic in the *Chronicle* (Bombay):

The greatest dancer known to the civilized world has been inspired by the Indian paintings now beginning to be realized as equal to, if not greater than, the best-known frescoes of the world. A world-famous Russian artiste desires to pay homage to



ANNA PAVLOWA IN HINDU COSTUME

Indian art. . . . Ajanta provides her a background and a theme utterly congenial to her Russian temperament. Russia is in more sense than one India in the West. The extraordinary beauty and wonder of the movements, the remarkable ascetic simplicity of the drapery—unlike the drapery of any other period or clime—the peculiarly delicate coloring, coloring that is neither gloomy nor by any means heavy, which are in the Ajanta frescoes would certainly not be difficult for the famous danseuse to interpret.

Mme. Pavlowa has understood the anguish of the artists in the Ajanta who for centuries have remained suppressed, who cry aloud but are not heard. She has dared to interpret the message in their heart. And, her magic art, if it is the most difficult, is also the best medium of expression. It is probably the only medium that can approximate the Ajanta conceptions. That daring marks her out as an artiste of rare temperament. That rare temperament is the rarest of gifts. If it is the sensitive instrument that inspires, it is also the responsive soul competent to interpret aesthetic contacts and experiences. . . .

It is true that the magic of the line of the Ajanta paintings is perhaps, even for this gifted artiste, the most difficult theme for translation. But the odds against her are not the consideration that would frighten Mme. Pavlowa into renunciation of her rights and duties as an artist. It is an appeal that has already found a response. It is a challenge that she is only too happy to accept.

Russia's Present Needs

PRESENT conditions in Russia are handled in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome) in a decidedly sympathetic spirit by Manfredi Gravina, who finds that the absence of Russia from the world's markets since the war constitutes a grave obstacle to the re-establishment of the general economic equilibrium, and that Russia's absence is not due only to the Soviet régime, but also to the policy of the Allies, above all to that of England, determined to weaken the economic power of Russia as far as possible.

The new Baltic states—Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia—were not only to serve as barriers between Germany and Russia, and with the independence of Finland, of Poland, of the Ukraine, of Georgia, etc., to weaken the gigantic empire, but were also designed to block up its outlets to the sea. Just as Russia has lost Vladivostok on the Pacific, so has she lost her best ports in the Baltic—Helsingfors, now the capital of Finland; Reval, placed under the sway of Esthonia; Riga and Libau, under that of Latvia. Now it is impossible that a politically revived Russia could resign herself to such a renunciation, one which contradicts her century-old aspirations from the time of Peter the Great, namely to procure the necessary commercial outlets for her economic life in the Baltic, the Pacific and the Mediterranean.

Passing to an interesting aspect of the recent development of Russia, the writer notes that a great part of the directors of the present communistic Russia are of Jewish faith, or at least of Jewish origin. The explanation is a very simple one, and has nothing to do with the fantasies and defamations everywhere diffused by the nationalistic parties in Germany, in order to make use of them in their rabid anti-Semitic campaign. The oppressions, the persecutions, the untold vexations to which the Jews of Russia were exposed under the old régime had, as a natural consequence, thrown them into the opposition, as they were not allowed any fruitful collaboration in the administration of the empire. This spirit of opposition, though humble enough in its form, was none the less both tenacious and justifiable.

The great revolution, however, had its origin in much deeper sources of discontent than those which could be furnished by the Jews, oppressed as they were, of relatively

small numbers, and detested by the great mass of the Slavonic population. When, however, the revolution had overthrown the imperial régime and swept away the privileged classes of the public administration, the replacing of these functionaries was no easy task. We must remember that in Russia there was no large intermediate bourgeois class, but that one passed almost directly from the lords of the soil, or the office-holders, to the peasantry. The lack of capable office-holders was felt more especially in the smaller centers of population and in the rural districts. It was now that the Jews, usually the best educated and the best fitted for administrative functions of the available material, who had as a rule taken no immediate part in the revolution, but who very naturally were in sympathy with its program of liberty, began to be selected for the local offices.

The question that is most often asked regarding Russia is as to the probable duration of the communistic dictatorship and the permanence of the Lenin government. As to this, the writer finds that we must bear in mind that the aristocracy has been crushed by the revolution—something which can scarcely be regretted, as it had little real value and was the cause of great abuses. The peasants have remained possessors of the soil, and they constitute, relatively, the best contented class of the Russian population. They dread any changes lest they should risk being deprived of their ownership. The industries, on the contrary, have been totally ruined by the application of the communistic principles, and the lack of administrative and technical control. It is the same with mining enterprises, although some mines have again begun to produce, but on a greatly reduced scale. The land also produces less.

The writer's conclusion is that at present Russia's three most urgent needs are food to nourish the whole population, adequate means of communication for commerce, and a stable monetary system. However, none of the groups which are ambitious to succeed the present government can provide satisfactorily for these urgent needs and any radical changes at present would merely result in new miseries and sufferings for the unhappy population, already exhausted and only longing for repose.

A Renewed Attempt to Save the Eagles

ABOUT three years ago we published in this department an abstract of an article by Dr. W. T. Hornaday, in which the writer called attention to the ruthless extermination of American eagles that was going on in Alaska. The fact that the bird which figures on our coinage and coat of arms was in danger of extinction called forth widespread interest at that period, but apparently no protective measures were adopted. The matter has now been taken up anew by the American Nature Association. The current number of the *Nature Magazine* (Washington, D. C.), published by the Association, contains an article by William L. and Irene Finley, entitled "A War Against American Eagles." The Association has also issued a statement to the newspapers on the subject, and has undertaken to collect and digest protests from the American people, with a view to submitting them to the Governor and Legislature of Alaska. Lastly, a campaign in behalf of the eagles has been launched on a wide scale in the public schools.

The war against the eagles began six years ago, when the Territorial Legislature offered a bounty of fifty cents for every eagle killed within the Alaskan boundary. In order to get the money the gunner must exhibit the feet of the bird, together with an affidavit, to a Commissioner of the Territory. Up to the present time 36,000 eagle feet have been presented and paid for. This means a known destruction of 18,000 eagles, but the actual number slaughtered is undoubtedly very much greater; probably at least 25,000. Many that were shot must have fallen in inaccessible places, or escaped mortally wounded, while yet others were doubtless killed by people who did not collect the bounty.

The Alaskan Legislature appears to have acted as hastily as many other law-making bodies have done in dealing with wild life. The authors of the above-mentioned article say:

Why this determined effort to blot the emblem of our country out of existence? A citizen of Juneau writes the following explanation to Mr. T. Gilbert Pearson, President of the National Association of Audubon Societies for the Protection of Wild Birds and Animals:

"So far as I have been able to ascertain, no information or statistics were presented to the legislature as a basis for the passage of the bill, the



AN EAGLET ABOUT TWO MONTHS OLD

basis for its enactment being upon statements by observers that, in their belief, the depredations of the birds were seriously affecting the salmon supply by destroying the fish while engaged in spawning in the small streams, that they also killed a great many fawns of deer, and young forest and shore birds, as well as ducks, geese, and other birds."

"The legislature that passed this law," says Mr. Pearson, "is not controlled by wild Indians and ignorant Eskimos, but by men who should know better than to condemn any form of wild life merely on rumors and loose statements of prejudiced observers and without some scientific investigation."

The Biological Survey of the Department of Agriculture, after careful study of the economic relation of the American, or bald, eagle, in Bulletin Number 27, sums up the matter as follows:

"All things considered, the bald eagle is rather more beneficial than otherwise, since much of its food is of little or no direct economic value, while the good it does more than compensates for its obnoxious deeds."

In Alaska where fish are abundant, at certain seasons of the year, the bald eagle undoubtedly lives largely on salmon, but it is a well-known fact in the life history of the salmon that it dies after spawning. The banks of streams are at times lined with the bodies of spawned-out fish which are carried away and eaten by these big birds of prey.

With this recorded slaughter of 18,000 eagles, Alaskans may be sure there are not enough left to affect their supply of fish and game. The war on eagles should be discontinued before the last emblem of the American people is laid low.

Concerning the animus of this onslaught

upon a bird supposedly dear to the hearts of all Americans the writers say:

The slaughter of the American eagles in Alaska is typical of the thoughtlessness that comes with the settlement of a new country. "Alaska for Alaska" has been the cry of these northern people, who are anxious to see the natural resources exploited with the haste of present-day commercialism. There is a feeling in Alaska that the throat of industry has been throttled by bureaus of the federal government. Throughout the extent of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, promoters for a hundred years exploited the natural resources of our country in a wasteful way without thought of future generations. It was a case of reaping the harvest and letting the future take care of itself. To-day, if it had not been for some federal supervision backed by thoughtful study and careful

scientific investigation, the vast resources of forests, streams and mountains now owned by the people, would be exploited for present and private use only. It is characteristic of a new country that its citizens are bent on prosperity. There is a singleness of purpose to grow rich. Alaska has little use at present for poets, painters and prophets.

What if the eagles of Alaska do diminish the salmon crop by a few cases? Can the salmon canners blame the eagles for the declining output of salmon? The late President Harding, and Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, were recently compelled to take legal steps against the commercial fishermen of Alaska. For years these fishermen have killed spawning salmon that were needed for brood stock, and they were rapidly running a great industry toward the brink of destruction. No wonder the salmon canners wish to lay the blame on the American eagle.

Facts About Our Fisheries

AN ARTICLE in the *Scientific American* sets forth a number of striking facts about the vast fisheries of the United States, and, in particular, describes the rapidly growing frozen-fish industry, which now gives employment to more than a hundred establishments in this country and is said to be doing much to reduce the cost of living.

Most people, the writer points out, think of the fisheries as serving almost exclusively the needs of mankind for food. Many will therefore be surprised to learn that one-third of the total catch of fish consists of menhaden, which is so full of oil and of such a flavor that it is unsuitable for the table. We read of this fish:

It is eaten only in certain locations, and then only by the poorer people who cannot afford to pay for fish of a better quality. The menhaden is not caught on the Pacific coast; but it is found in supreme abundance off the Atlantic coast where the total catch, according to the latest figures, was 880,543,339 pounds. These fish travel largely in shoals, and are caught by seining and in traps. They are taken to various plants scattered along the coast, where they are cut up and the oil extracted, the residue being dried and ground to form the fertilizer of commerce.

The total annual catch of fish of all kinds averages 2,600,000,000 pounds, distributed as follows:

The Middle Atlantic States stand far in the lead with a total catch of 864,000,000 pounds; followed by the New England States with 467,000,000; South Atlantic States, 333,000,000; Alaska, 312,000,000; Pacific Coast States, 286,000,000; the Mississippi River division, 148,000,000; the Gulf States, 131,000,000; the Great Lakes with 104,000,000, and

Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lake with over 2,000,000 pounds of fish. The total tonnage of fishing vessels reaches the large figure of 69,555 tons; the total number of men employed is 200,000, and the cost of the equipment is \$184,121,711.

Of fish suitable for the table, a goodly proportion of the catch is canned, smoked, salted or otherwise preserved. Canned salmon, for example, amounts to more than 161,000,000 pounds a year.

Fresh fish packed in ice can be shipped hundreds of miles without suffering deterioration, but this process has serious limitations, owing to the fact that the temperature of the fish is not lowered below 32° Fahrenheit, and this degree of cold does not suffice to keep them in prime condition for more than a moderate period. The practice of freezing the fish before shipment is far more effective.

It may not be generally known that fish, when fresh from the water and promptly frozen, may be carried in refrigerator cars anywhere within the length and breadth of our land. The best proof of this is that all but 10 per cent. of the fresh halibut consumed by us originates off the shores of Alaska. Before the World War frozen salmon from our West coast was eaten extensively even in Western Europe, where it sold readily at good prices. Much of the fresh salmon for our tables comes from the same locality. There would not be the demand for this comestible if the freezing of the fish rendered them flat in flavor and less desirable, judged by the standards of strictly fresh fish.

The process of freezing fish is an adaptation of artificial refrigeration designed to preserve an extremely perishable foodstuff, commonly taken from the waters in mild or warm weather, so that it may be at our disposal in the winter months especially, when fishermen cannot venture forth upon the stormy seas. It is also intended to permit the fisherman to reap a harvest when "the run is on," and

to make it feasible during the days of plenty to store away some of the abundance for consumption out of season. As a rule, the frozen stock is carried in cold storage from six to twelve months, the greatest volume being disposed of within from six to eight months after freezing. However, the longest of these periods is relatively short when compared with certain tests conducted by the Federal authorities, which proved that frozen fish could be held for twenty-seven months. At the end of that time, elaborate analyses of the fish failed to show that any changes had taken place which would render them at all unsuitable for food, or to indicate any important differences in chemical composition between these fish and fresh fish or fish stored for shorter intervals.

As soon as a catch reaches the plant, the fish are washed with cold, running water to free them of dirt and slime. Next, depending upon the size of the fish, their nature, and the requirements of the market, they may be split and cleaned before undergoing freezing. Generally, fish that are heavy feeders, that eat freely of animal matter, or that are rich in oil, are eviscerated to insure their better keeping in cold storage. It is impracticable to gut such species as butterfish, bass, small mackerel, etc. These are usually frozen in their natural state after they have been put in pans capable of holding about 40 pounds of the foodstuff. Ordinarily, a pan contains a single layer of fish, placed spoonfashion, head

to tail, and when the pan is filled it is set upon the shelf of what is known as a "sharp freezer." The temperature of the room ranges between 5 degrees to 15 degrees below zero Fahrenheit. The fish remain on the shelf only long enough to freeze them through and through, and the quicker this is done the more palatable the fish in the end. Rapid freezing is, therefore, preferable.

Large fish, like halibut, salmon, black cod, are seldom handled in pans, but, after washing, are laid right on the shelves of the sharp freezer and are frozen separately. They are then as hard and solid as stone. Whether panned or frozen singly, fish require anywhere from six to twenty-four hours to put them in the desired condition. A thick fish, naturally, takes longer to freeze through than a thinner one.

The last step in the process of preservation is "glazing," which consists of encasing each large fish or each block of frozen small fish with an envelope of clear ice. This covering prevents the entrance of air, which would cause the fish oils to deteriorate, provides a surface on which molds and fungi cannot grow, prevents shriveling of the flesh by evaporation, and protects the fish from mechanical injuries.

Concerning a Favorite Drug

"ASPIRIN," says Mr. R. Cecil Owen, in an article entitled "Everybody's Drug," published in *Conquest* (London), "is probably the most popular remedy of the day." The writer explains the reasons for its popularity, discusses its merits and demerits, and tells us in some detail just how the drug performs its therapeutic function.

Aspirin is not a mixture of drugs, but a definite chemical compound, known technically as acetyl-salicylic acid. For this reason it is exempt from the 20 per cent. tax which Great Britain imposes on patent medicines. Whether it was first made in Germany is uncertain, but it is a well-known fact that the German firm of Bayer first put it on the market. The same firm invented the name "aspirin" and protected it in the patent offices of various countries, but could not prevent other people from making and selling the same drug under some other name. This exclusive right to the name "aspirin" was terminated when the Entente countries annulled German patents during the war.

Concerning the characteristics of the drug and its effects on the human system we read:

The layman generally sees aspirin in five-grain tablets, whereas originally it occurs as colorless crystals, or as a white powder. It is generally described as insoluble in water, but the truth is that it is slightly soluble, one part of aspirin dissolving in four hundred parts of water at the ordinary temperature, 16° C.

One of the most interesting things about aspirin is its origin from coal-tar, along with a long list of useful and attractive substances—drugs, flavoring essences, perfumes, antiseptics and what not.

Aspirin is an unstable substance; it is readily resolved—not into its elements, carbon, hydrogen and oxygen—but into its constituent compounds. The action of aspirin would probably be quite different were it a stable compound, like phenacetin—but that is a speculation we need not go into. When aspirin is treated with water, it suffers disruption and becomes, in effect, a mixture of acetic and salicylic acids. Its physiological effects are chiefly those of its salicylic acid constituent; its therapeutic properties in respect of its acetic acid content is negligible.

When aspirin is "taken," it passes through the stomach unchanged, but undergoes disruption, in the manner described, in the intestines. It is then that its therapeutic action is asserted, which is that of salicylic acid and salicylates.

Free salicylic acid in the stomach is harmful; the decomposition should not take place until the intestines are reached. The use of even a very small amount of water in the manufacture of the drug has the effect of setting free salicylic acid, and

should be carefully avoided. Since this precaution is not always observed, some brands of aspirin are decidedly superior to others. Aspirin, when properly made, is preferable to other compounds of salicylic acid because of the slow and regular way in which it liberates the acid in the intestines.

The physiological effects of aspirin are thus described:

First of all it increases metabolic action: *i. e.*, the breakdown of the tissues is accelerated and the output of waste products increased so that more than the average quantities of urea, uric acid, phosphates, sulphates and chlorides are found in the urine. This increased chemical action tends, naturally, to increase the body's temperature, for the heat evolved by the body depends upon the intensity of chemical action going on within it. But, secondly, aspirin dilates the surface blood vessels and increases perspiration, so that the temperature tends to fall; and the drug is therefore described as an "anti-pyretic" or temperature-reducer. It will be noted that these tendencies run counter to each other; one of its properties is to increase temperature, the other to lower it; the latter wins, and the temperature does actually fall and the designation "anti-pyretic" is justified. Some of the disorders for which aspirin has been successfully prescribed are—acute and chronic rheumatism, influenza, tonsillitis, sciatica, neuralgia, chorea, coryza, diabetes, erythema, pneumonia, acute nasal catarrh, pleurisy, and many others.

Its use in relieving headache depends upon its property of dilating the blood vessels and so diminishing blood pressure.

While aspirin is an immensely valuable remedy, there is another side to the story. The writer says:

The administration of aspirin is all too frequently accompanied by surprising and alarming results. On too many occasions it proves itself a dangerous drug. Patients there are—and they are numerous—who display what is technically called an idiosyncrasy towards aspirin, and to them it is literally a poison. The difficulty is, that one never knows in what particular patient the alarming symptoms are likely to occur. Further—and worse—one can not tell whether a patient who has taken aspirin with safety and benefit may not suddenly develop an idiosyncrasy and find the drug a poison! Unfortunately few, if any, rules can be laid down in this matter, and results are always largely a matter of speculation. This at any rate may be said, that patients with low blood pressure should never take it; nor should those suffering from nasal polypi.

Aspirin, unless prescribed by a doctor, should be taken sparingly. Generally speaking, it is not a good thing, it is indeed a bad thing to set free salicylic acid in the intestines; it is a bad thing to dilate one's surface arteries day after day, to cause perspiration artificially, and to lower temperature and blood pressure. These are the normal results and may be counted upon inevitably; and we have seen that the abnormal effects—which may arise at any moment—are fearsome.

Aspirin should, in general, be taken by itself, as its instability renders it readily disrupted by a number of substances besides alkalis. Thus it is incompatible with antipyrin (another well-known headache-remedy), potassium acetate, and even with sodium citrate and many other substances.

New York's Floating Postal Service

FEW persons realize that the mail-sorting service which the United States Government maintains on board several Atlantic liners is officially part of the New York City post office. The same post office operates a number of harbor boats for removing the mail from incoming steamers. These maritime branches of the New York office are described at length in the current monthly Supplement of the *United States Official Postal Guide* (Washington, D. C.). Concerning the local service we read:

The harbor-boat service is operated by the Railway Mail Service, and its purpose is to meet incoming steamships at quarantine, transfer the mail cargoes while the vessels are waiting for or passing medical inspection, and prepare the mail for immediate dispatch before the vessels have arrived at their piers in New York City. Thus the delivery of the mail intended for this country is speeded up from eight to forty-eight hours, and that addressed by European mailers to trans-Pacific countries, via our own Pacific Ocean ports, is oftentimes advanced as much as eight or ten days. Upon

the arrival of a steamship the New York City post office is besieged with telephone inquiries as to when the mail from the steamer will be delivered. When it is reported due at quarantine, the financial institutions arrange their clerical forces so that the foreign mail will be promptly handled by them after it is received from the post office, the object being to include as much as possible in their clearing-house transactions.

A regular force of thirty-one employees is engaged in handling the mail, with an auxiliary force of twenty-two other employees at the dispatching pier, which is known as Pier 72, North River. The force engaged in handling the mail from any given steamship is, of course, contingent upon the size of its mail cargo, and varies from one to forty men. As many as five mail boats are sometimes required to perform the work.

When the ship is docked at quarantine in New York Harbor, the activities of the mail-boat service begin, but this is not by any means the first time that the postal officials have given consideration to the incoming vessel. Long before it comes into port the agents of the steamship company have received a cablegram from the place of departure giving information as to the number of sacks of mail that are on the way. This advance notice permits the officials at New York to make preparations for

the immediate disposition of the mails when the vessel arrives.

Once the mail boats are alongside the steamship, mail chutes are fastened to the rails of the liner and the sacks are thrown into them as rapidly as the sailors can bring them to the edge of the rail. These chutes being made of canvas, as the mail sack descends the canvas sufficiently retards a too-rapid motion, so that when the deck of the mail boat is reached the impact is not great enough to damage the articles in the mail. It is possible to transfer a mail cargo of 5,000 bags in this manner in about one and one-half hours.

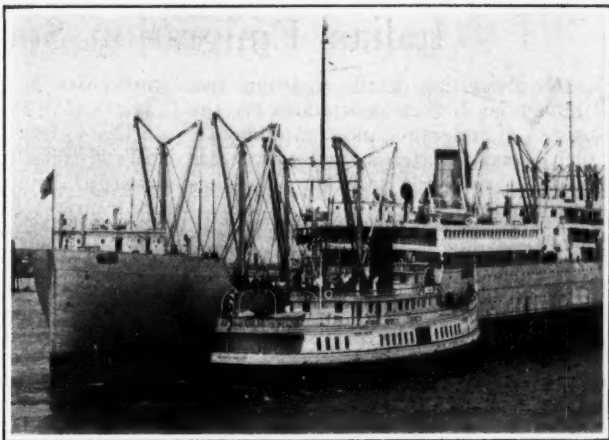
As soon as the mail boats have their complement of sacks the boats go to the dispatching pier, which is equipped with portable conveyors, electric tractors, and trailers to facilitate the rapid conveyance of the sacks to railway cars. These cars are always ready to receive the mails for interior United States post offices and for Canadian as well as trans-Pacific points.

This method of handling foreign mail in the harbor minimizes the cost of vehicle service in New York City and avoids traffic congestion, but it cannot be said that it is operated exclusively for the benefit of New York or any one other post office in the country, because a material portion of the mail is dispatched to points beyond New York City.

The process of assorting mail on board ocean steamers is analogous to the more widely familiar Railway Mail Service, and is known as the "sea post." Both of these institutions are of British origin. The American sea post is at present operated on a much smaller scale than it was before the World War, when American postal clerks served on British, French and German liners, in conjunction with employees of the foreign countries in question. Our sea post service is now limited to a few steamships plying between New York and Bremen, New York and Porto Rico, and New York and the Canal Zone. The Post Office Department hopes, however, to enlarge it materially in the future.

On voyages to Europe the assorting of mail is confined principally to the letters and newspapers that have reached New York too late to be included in the fully assorted mails. A train delayed in reaching New York on Saturday morning may prevent a large quantity of mail from being prepared for dispatch from that port on the last day of the week, which is the most popular sailing day.

The greatest benefit to the Postal Service in this country results from the work of sea post clerks on westward voyages. As soon as the mail is received



THE MAIL BOAT MEETING AN INCOMING LINER IN NEW YORK HARBOR

(The mail is taken off while the liner waits for health inspection, and is transferred promptly not only to the post office, but to railroad terminals)

on the vessel, say, in Germany, it is so placed that those sacks not to be opened are stowed in the vessel to remain undisturbed until Sandy Hook is reached. Some of these sacks which contain the mail for countries beyond the United States are "closed mails," and the others contain parcel post for the customs officials at New York, Chicago, or elsewhere in this country.

The sacks of mail addressed to New York are stowed in the sea post opening room for convenience of access. They are the only ones opened during the voyage, because each sea post office is regarded as a part of the New York office, and besides, the sacks for other United States post offices are sent intact to those offices, since the contents are destined either for them or for distribution and dispatch to points beyond.

The separation of mail destined for points outside New York is made according to the New York distribution scheme just as though the mail was deposited in the New York post office. Sea post clerks, because they are regarded as New York post office employees, assort letters into sacks for each of the stations of the New York post office. The result is that if a vessel having sea post service arrives in the afternoon, it is practicable to deliver the letters through the stations of the New York post office the same day. When the vessel starts the work of the sea post clerk begins, and there is no intermission for Sundays or holidays until the voyage is ended.

The sea post is essentially a service designed to advance the delivery of mail, and in the seven or eight days of the voyage to New York four United States clerks on the vessels accomplish as much work as twenty-eight or thirty-two men in the New York post office could accomplish in a day were the mails received there as dispatched from the post offices abroad.

Mails from vessels coming into quarantine are sent to New Jersey shore points for dispatch westward.

Italian Emigration Societies

SOME interesting details regarding two influential Italian associations for the assistance of emigrants and the promotion of their economic interests and welfare are given by Ugo Guida in *Rivista Internazionale* (Rome).

The organization known as *Italica Gens* dates from 1908, and sprang directly from the National Association for the assistance of Italian missionaries. As the assistance of emigrants on the Continent of Europe was already provided for by the Opera Bonomelli, the new association devoted itself to transoceanic lands and to the Levant. *Italica Gens* aimed to have, from the very outset, an eminently national character, and it sought to give expression to this by its name, symbolical of fraternization among all of Italian race. In its program it says:

May the name express the idea of unity which *Italica Gens* will never weary in preaching to our Italians beyond the sea, and which should find an echo in their hearts, so that they may be induced to gather together under the flag of our country, and may put an end to those jealousies founded on narrow local interests which characterize our colonies. It is to this great defect that can be attributed the frittering away of Italian prestige in foreign lands.

Italica Gens, on the other hand, is strictly non-political and non-religious, accessible to all Italian emigrants, from whatever region they may hail, or to whatever religious faith they may owe allegiance. It is an institution inspired by that broad sentiment of Christian charity which turns with equal love to all who suffer and are in need of help.

A most important activity has been to find employment for the Italian emigrants, and to favor their settlement in the regions best adapted for them. A special service of information has been established to this intent. Naturally, the war interfered seriously with this work, and at the same time emigration fell off greatly. This caused a modification of the society's plans, for their attention was now directed toward finding employment at home for those who had expected to leave Italy. In this connection it may be stated that the society assumed the task of feeding and otherwise assisting about 20,000 workmen who were qualified to obtain employment in munition factories, as for instance in the manufactories of

projectiles and explosives at Aosta and Avigliana in Piedmont.

The society also assists those who need help in collecting damages that have been awarded them, or in securing compensation for injuries. In the field of primary education, the officials maintain girls' and boys' schools, and superintend the management of hospitals, lodging-houses, shelters, etc. Its representatives are very numerous in the countries of North and South America, as well as in the Levant. Among the associations affiliated with it are the Salesians, the Capuchins, the Franciscans, the Augustinians, and very many others. All the representatives in the United States and in Canada are under the direction of a central council in New York; those of Argentina are under a similar council in Buenos Aires, and those of Brazil under one in São Paulo.

Another important society, which has a somewhat similar scope, is the *Consorzio Nazionale di Emigrazione e Lavoro*. This was founded December 5, 1916, on the initiative of Professor Luigi Sturzo. The various associations grouped together in this society were from the outset designated and distinguished as "consorts," or "adherents," the former comprising those having a national extension, while the latter had only a local significance. Among the numerous societies and institutions thus brought into more intimate relations with one another, was also *Italica Gens*. The headquarters of the *Consorzio* are in Rome, and it is administered by a council composed of one representative from each of the consorted institutions, two from the Economic Social Union and the People's Union, respectively, and three from the entire body of "adherents." In addition, the council selects two other members from among those regarded as especially qualified experts. Its chief task is to study and regulate the currents of Italian emigration, and to direct them in accord with the special economic advantages enjoyed by Italians in the various foreign lands.

The societies here described have special characteristics and aptitudes, but together they constitute an organic though complex whole. An effective and harmonious coördination and coöperation of the many subordinate associations and institutions has been successfully accomplished.

News from Nature's World

The Walking-Stick Insect

ONE of the most curious little creatures in the insect world is the walking-stick insect, which possesses what may be called a protective form as many other insects possess protective coloring. Its long, rodlike body and the arrangement of its legs and antennæ cause it when motionless to resemble closely a twig—a likeness borne out by its color scheme. A German observer, Professor J. Roener, has for the past three years been studying a number of these insects, the *Dixippus Morosus*, which he has succeeded in breeding in captivity, so as to be able to observe at his convenience the motions and habits, the deposit of the eggs, the mode of feeding, and so forth, besides its particularly peculiar habit of "playing possum," i.e., of assuming a corpse-like stiffness and pretending to be dead like the man in the old fable of the Bear and the Traveler. The insects remained mostly in repose by daylight, "sitting tight," so to speak, in the corners of the glass terrarium which was their home, or else lying motionless upon the twigs and leaf stalks from raspberries and rose bushes which were furnished them as food. In this condition they were far from easy to find. As their owner tells us in *Kosmos* (Stuttgart).

When I removed the little creatures in order to clean the terrarium some of them lay stiff and motionless upon the table, the antennæ stretched forwards in a straight line together with the first and second pair of legs, while the third pair of legs were pressed closely against the abdomen. They looked like brownish pointed twigs. Others stood still where they were shaking their bodies upon their widely extended six legs. Then a few of them began to run away with a certain amount of haste. As twilight fell the insects began to move slowly about seeking food. But even then their motions were extremely slow and deliberate.

The eggs were mostly laid at night, about midnight or towards morning. I often heard them call as I listened in the dark chamber. The development of the eggs varied in the time required, but was never less than five weeks. Thus several, laid September 2, hatched October 10, and three or four more on each following night. . . . The newly hatched insects were from 12 to 15 mm. in length. They dragged the remnants of the egg-shell around with them for a day or so, especially when two or more of their hind legs remained inside it. Like scorpions they held the abdomen raised in a threatening attitude. At first they showed little desire for food but they made up for this later. Within about forty days they had doubled in length. After

each shedding of the skin, which took place mostly at night, they became quieter.

The observer was lucky enough, however, to see this process on one occasion in the forenoon. The head of the creature was curved downwards in a peculiar manner and it gnawed at the old skin until the latter split upon the back, whereupon the first pair of legs came out, then the third pair, lastly the second pair, and finally the abdomen from the old skin, which was quite perfect in shape with every part of the body plainly discernible; it had disappeared by evening, however, having apparently been eaten. Besides eating their own skins, the creatures were not above cannibalism on occasion. Thus Professor Roener saw one of them chewing off a dainty morsel from the leg of a sick sister.

They ate readily the leaves of various members of the rose family, including the strawberry and raspberry, especially enjoying the latter. A bright light caused some of them to play "dead" at once while the effect on others was not so immediate. They reproduced themselves so rapidly by means of parthenogenesis that the owner was able to give generously of the eggs and young animals to schools and children. But though interesting they are far from engaging, well deserving, according to Professor Roener, their descriptive name, *Morosus*.

Modern Methods of Planting Fish

There is no reason why large amounts of valuable food in the form of various edible fish should not be produced in various parts of the country, as regularly as other crops. It is all a matter of selecting the proper fish for any given locality, in the same way that suitable fruits and vegetables for given areas are chosen. Professor George Kemmerer, of the University of Wisconsin, has been studying this subject for the last fifteen years, and has obtained much valuable information concerning the questions involved. He has devoted special attention to the migration of the fish as affected by the amount of oxygen dissolved in the water. In shallow lakes, he tells us, the whole body of water may be kept in agitation by the wind and, therefore thoroughly aerated. But in deeper lakes there are definite changes which concur with seasonal differences. Thus, at the break-up of

ice in the spring, the water is only one or two degrees above the freezing point and the water on the surface first warms up. Being heavier, it then settles and this brings the whole lake into circulation. It is at this time that the water in the bottom of the lake obtains its summer supply of oxygen, on which the animal life is dependent. On calm days the surface of the lake is warmed and circulated without disturbing the water at the bottom:

This divides the lake into three strata, the upper or circulated stratum, the colder dividing stratum, and the lower uncirculated stratum. As the season advances the first layer becomes deeper and warmer while the dividing stratum becomes more definite.

The significance of this will be seen when we remember that most of the minute forms of vegetation, known as plankton, grow near the surface of the water. When these die they sink to the bottom, where they undergo decay, thus using up the oxygen at the bottom and forming carbon dioxide. This makes it necessary, as the summer advances, for the fish to seek a higher level, where the oxygen is less exhausted.

Such a lake would not be suitable for trout, which would thrive better in a northern lake, where the water stays colder and fewer algae grow.

Life in the Great Volcanic Craters of Africa

In this day, when the papers are full of gloomy stories of man's inhumanity to animals, when Professor Osborne tells us that through our improvidence, recklessness and cruelty we have come almost to the end of the Age of Mammals, it is distinctly heartening to learn of certain natural habitats, where animal life still exists in all its former fecundity. Such a happy locality is the great crater (said to be one of the two largest in the world) of Ngorongoro in Tanganyika Territory (formerly German East Africa). Better still, this famous volcanic crater is only one of a number of huge depressions in the same region, which is known as the "Highlands of the Great Craters." These natural happy valleys are richly carpeted with grass and in these natural pastures are found huge numbers of the larger grazing animals, as well as of the carnivora which are their natural foes. In a recent number of the *Geographical Journal*, Mr. T. Alexander Barnes gives a fascinating account of the wild life in the

Ngorongoro and similar areas. He saw thousands of the great quadrupeds, known as blue wildebeeste, as well as great herds of zebra and gnu. A great variety of other animals are also found here in great abundance, including the Kongoni hartebeeste, as well as Thompson's gazelle, Grant's gazelle, Chandler's reedbuck, lions, cheetahs, hyenas, jackals and baboons. It is also the home of the ostrich as well as of countless smaller birds.

Every lover of nature will join in the hope that proper measures will be taken to protect these great natural reserves. By the way, in a recent visit to a moving-picture house, the writer saw a remarkably interesting film of wild life in Africa, in which the animals were shot only by the camera instead of by the gun, with the exception of one or two instances. It was noteworthy that the famous explorers who obtained this film refrained from stating the exact locality where the pictures were taken, with the expressly avowed intention of protecting it from big-game hunters and trappers.

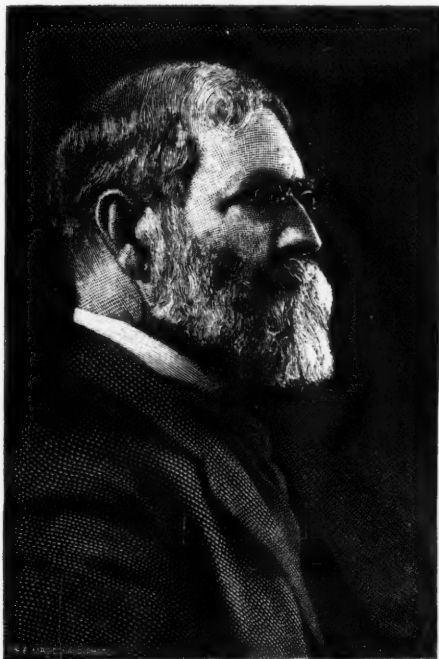
A Savage Plains Wanderer

A fearless wanderer of the great plains and western and southern swamps is the great gray sandhill crane, known from the Canadian border to central Mexico and Florida. The adult birds show slaty gray, or light brown plumage, and are about four feet high, standing on their tall, powerful, spindling legs, on which they can and will make a sanguinary fight, striking right and left with their dagger-like bills, one blow enough to cripple or kill an incautious dog. And they have been known more than once to strike down a man, with painful results.

The writer once followed a pair of them through a swamp in northern Michigan, and saw them take wing. Immediately they gave forth their cry, which to the writer seemed one of the true voices of Nature, unutterably wild and defiant. Their powerful, resonant notes were heard for more than a mile, and long after the two great birds had disappeared. The breast meat of the sandhill crane is said to make excellent "steaks."

THE NEW BOOKS

Biography and Memoirs



MR. ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON

(From a wood engraving by Timothy Cole which forms the frontispiece of "Remembered Yesterdays")

Remembered Yesterdays. By Robert Underwood Johnson. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 624 pp. Ill.

Mr. Johnson was American Ambassador to Italy in President Wilson's second term. But before that adventure in diplomacy lay forty years of arduous service on the editorial staff of the *Century Magazine*, long-continued relationships with interesting personalities at home and abroad, and devotion to important public causes, such as international copyright and war relief work for Italy. Mr. Johnson, a native of Indiana, was a graduate of Earlham College at Richmond in that State. After a short business experience in Chicago, where he witnessed the Great Fire of 1871, Mr. Johnson at the age of twenty joined the staff of *Scribner's Monthly*, then conducted by Dr. J. G. Holland and Richard Watson Gilder. That magazine later developed into the *Century*, under the editorship of Mr. Gilder, and

carried through several editorial projects of a nationwide significance, the chief of these being the famous Civil War papers. In these enterprises Mr. Johnson had an important part, and after Mr. Gilder's death in 1909 he succeeded to the editorship of the *Century*, which he retained until 1913. In that long period of service he naturally formed contacts with a large number of persons of distinction in many fields. Of the Americans whom he knew well were Roosevelt, Mark Twain, Howells and Burroughs, and among his European friends were Eleonora Duse and Salvini, not to mention a long list of contributors to the *Century* from various European countries. These "Remembered Yesterdays" give many a glimpse of interesting friendships and of worth-while civic undertakings.

My Garden of Memory: An Autobiography. By Kate Douglas Wiggin. Houghton Mifflin Company. 465 pp. Ill.

Whatever adjectives may be used, there is at least one noun which has a place in any characterization of Kate Douglas Wiggin's writings, or of the author



MRS. KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN AT THE HEIGHT OF HER CAREER

herself—vivacity. Her own story of her life, completed just before her death, has much of the charm of her earlier writings. Beginning as a kindergarten teacher in California, Mrs. Wiggin became a traveler and writer of distinction, gradually enlarging the circle of her acquaintance until she was personally known in many countries and through her books in almost every part of the world. Few American women of her time have enjoyed so rich and varied a life. Few have numbered so many friends.

Three Generations. By Maud Howe Elliott. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 418 pp.

The daughter of Julia Ward Howe may be said to have inherited an interest in public affairs. For three generations her family have contributed unstintingly to American progress and education, art and politics. This book of personal memoirs gives us glimpses of some of the authors, actors and artists with whom Mrs. Elliott has been at different times associated—Bret Harte, Marion Crawford, John Hay, Margaret Deland, Henry James, Edwin Booth, the elder Sothorn, Ellen Terry, Augustus St. Gaudens, Alma-Tadema, William M. Hunt and George Frederick Watts. A chapter of the book is devoted to Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party. Mrs. Elliott took an active part in the political campaign of 1912.

George Frederic Handel: His Personality and His Times. By Newman Flower. Houghton Mifflin Company. 378 pp. Ill.

This is a biography that naturally makes a special appeal to lovers of music. But, incidentally, it throws not a little light on the manners and customs of eighteenth-century London. The author offers solutions of various controverted questions regarding Handel's life in London.

The Human Side of Fabre. By Percy F. Bicknell. The Century Co. 340 pp. Ill.

In the latter years of his life the aged naturalist, Fabre, came to be a world figure. His books for young people were translated into English, and were cordially received in England and America. Children of many lands now know him by name, and certain of his human qualities are as familiar as if his life had been passed in their own country. Mr. Bicknell has done well to make this brief biography largely an autobiography. That is, the story is told as far as possible in the naturalist's own words and in his own simple manner. Not only to children but to older readers as well this very human book will make a direct appeal.

Adventures in Journalism. By Philip Gibbs. Harper & Brothers. 363 pp.

Sir Philip Gibbs first became known to the American public as a correspondent from the front during the Great War. His training in journalism, however, had begun years before. This book of his adventures harks back to the announcement of Dr. Cook's "discovery" of the North Pole, which the young English reporter, Philip Gibbs, had a great part in exposing as one of the fakes of the time. This is only one of the episodes in his reportorial career which Mr. Gibbs relates in this entertaining book. Included in his sketches are character studies of famous British and Continental men and women of the day, and, as a whole, the book gives

a vivid picture of life in England before and during the war period.

Theodore Roosevelt. By Lord Charnwood. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. 232 pp.

In his "Abraham Lincoln" Lord Charnwood conveyed to us the present-day English interpretation of the Civil War period in our history. Similarly, in this estimate of Roosevelt Lord Charnwood portrays the greatest American of our time against the background of American life. His book is not an eulogy of Roosevelt, but an attempt to sum up the world's opinion of the man. Lord Charnwood has visited this country, and observed political and economic conditions here at first hand.

Fifty Years on the Old Frontier: as Cowboy, Hunter, Guide, Scout, and Ranchman. By James H. Cook. With an Introduction by Brigadier-General Charles King. New Haven: Yale University Press. 291 pp. Ill.

It is fortunate, indeed, that one of the few survivors of the scouts and guides of frontier days has written out his recollections of what was going on in the cattle country of the Southwest during the '70's. Captain Cook helped to drive the herds up the "Long Trail" from Texas to Kansas and Nebraska, as related by Emerson Hough in "North of 36," which we noticed in these pages last month. He was also a big-game hunter in the Wyoming country, took part in suppressing the Geronimo outbreak, and enjoyed a long friendship with Red Cloud, the Sioux chief. As a supplementary chapter in his book, Captain Cook describes the famous Agate Springs fossil beds, which were discovered on his ranch, and are much resorted to at the present time by paleontologists.

The Pioneer West: Narratives of the Westward March of Empire. Selected and Edited by Joseph Lewis French. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 386 pp. Ill.

The period of "The Covered Wagon" is traversed by this selection of narratives from well-known American writers. Some of the authors from whose works passages have been taken are Francis Parkman, Mark Twain, Bret Harte, Hamlin Garland, General Custer, Owen Wister, Theodore Roosevelt and Emerson Hough.

Friends of My Life as an Indian. By James Willard Schultz. Houghton Mifflin Company. 299 pp. Ill.

Earlier books by Mr. Schultz have contained Indian stories which he acquired as an adopted member of the Piegan tribe of Blackfeet. Mr. Schultz lived for many years with the Piegans, married a daughter of the tribe, learned their language, studied their traditions and customs, and became as one of them. He recently revisited those friends of his youth and the story of the reunion is told in this book.

Memories of an Active Life. By Charles R. Flint. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 349 pp. Ill.

Like the race of New England shipbuilders, captains, and owners from which he sprang, Mr. Charles R. Flint has had an adventurous life, and has enjoyed every day of it. His book has chapters

on "The Old Ships and the Old Sea," "Hunting and Shooting Around the World," "Being Introduced to Latin America," "Serving South American Belligerents," "Yacht Racing and the Fastest Yacht in the World," "Pan-American Diplomacy," "Russia, Czar Nicholas and the War with Japan" and "Becoming the Father of Trusts." In all of the varied interests suggested by these chapter headings Mr. Flint has had an active part. He has been a trader, merchant, banker, shipper, financier and negotiator, and along with all these serious pursuits he has found time for the sports of yachting and fishing, in which he is an enthusiast.

My Rhineland Journal. By Major-General Henry T. Allen. Houghton Mifflin Company. 593 pp. Ill.

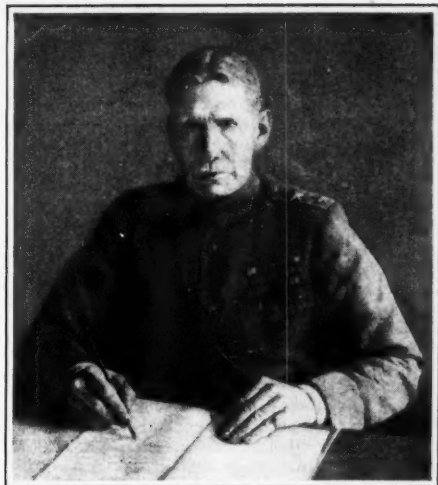
Comparatively little of an official or authentic nature has been published concerning the American occupation of the Rhine. We now have the intimate daily journal kept by the General in command. The importance of this document is enhanced by the fact that General Allen's duties extended beyond Coblenz. During the period of the occupation he was taking part from time to time in conferences at London, Paris and Berlin and was constantly in contact with international developments of the highest importance. To most American readers, however, the book will be chiefly interesting as a record of a brave and efficient American officer, ruling and meting out justice in the Old World in time of peace.

The Emperor Nicholas II: as I Knew Him. By Major-General Sir John Hanbury-Williams. E. P. Dutton & Company. 271 pp. Ill.

The author of this work was chief of the British Military Mission in Russia in the years 1914-17. The book is made up of the author's diary in Russia for those years, and his personal impressions of the Emperor, Empress and Czarevitch, the Grand Duke Nicholas and General Alexieff.

The Memoirs of Li Hung Chang. By William Francis Mannix. With the Story of a Literary Forgery. By Ralph D. Paine. Houghton Mifflin Company. 298 pp.

One would hardly expect that an actual literary forgery, which deceived its publishers as much as any of its readers, could later be turned to account as a bit of publishing enterprise. Yet this seems to have been achieved in the case of "The Memoirs of Li Hung Chang," published ten years ago, which,



MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY T. ALLEN
(Author of "My Rhineland Journal")

it later developed, were written by an American newspaper man, William Francis Mannix. The most surprising incident of the whole story is the fact that Mannix wrote these memoirs in jail and without access to newspapers or original documents. The book is now reissued for exactly what it is—a work of the imagination. Ralph D. Paine supplies an introduction which sketches the strange career of Mannix.

An Englishwoman in Angora. By Grace Ellison. E. P. Dutton and Company. 344 pp. Ill.

Very few men of Western birth have visited Angora since the beginning of the Turkish Nationalist movement. That an Englishwoman should have had the courage to penetrate to that remote capital; just at the time when British civilians were evacuating Smyrna and war was threatened between the Allies and Turkey, shows that the love of adventure is by no means confined to the male sex. Miss Ellison, having always stood for Anglo-Turkish friendship, does not hesitate to express her sympathy with certain of the Turkish ideals. She pictures the Turks of to-day as she finds them, without prejudice.

The World To-Day

Woodrow Wilson's Case for the League of Nations. Compiled, with his approval, by Hamilton Foley. Princeton University Press. 271 pp.

Mr. Foley has compiled this statement from the words used by President Wilson in explaining the League of Nations Covenant and the Treaty of Versailles to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and in thirty-seven addresses delivered during his tour of the Western States in September, 1919. Sentences have been selected pertaining to

each section of the League of Nations Covenant and of the Treaty, and these have been so combined as to form a connected exposition. As Mr. Foley says: "Every word in this book is Mr. Wilson's own word, and all are here used in explanation of that detail of the subject in which he used them." There are also published in an appendix the Covenant itself and two addresses delivered by President Wilson before the Peace Conference at Paris. In one of these he made it clear that the United States had no intention of entering the politics of Europe but was concerned

primarily for the peace of the world. In the other he explained the terms of the Covenant. Thus the book as a whole justifies the title that has been given it—"Woodrow Wilson's Case for the League of Nations."

Germany's Capacity to Pay: a Study of the Reparation Problem. By Harold G. Moulton and Constantine E. McGuire. McGraw-Hill Book Company. 384 pp.

One of the publications of the Institute of Economics, maintained by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This is an unbiased study of the reparation problem. Political reasons prevented the appointment of a commission of business men and economists for the purpose of making an impartial analysis of Germany's capacity to meet her reparation obligations. The Institute of Economics, unhampered by lack of time or facilities, has made a scientific diagnosis of Germany's economic condition. No international commission that could have been appointed for the task would have been likely to reach any more definite or trustworthy conclusion than are the findings of the Institute. The authors of this monograph have also pointed out the bearing of international trade conditions and commercial policies upon any reparation settlement that can be made.

The Russian Soviet Republic. By Edward Alsworth Ross. The Century Company. 405 pp. Ill.

Professor Ross has become known by his earlier books—"Russia in Upheaval" and "The Russian Bolshevik Revolution"—as a careful, impartial student of contemporary history in Russia. The new book continues the description of Russian conditions to the close of 1922. Professor Ross emphasizes the failure of nationalized Russian industry and shows how the Communists have been steadily retreating toward Capitalism. On the other hand, he believes that the agrarian revolution which is now breaking up great landed estates in various

parts of the world originated with the Russian upheaval. But the Socialists have been weakened by Communist influence and in his opinion capitalism is now safer and stronger than it has been in many years.

The Fascist Movement in Italian Life. By Dr. Pietro Gorgolini. With Preface by S. E. Benito Mussolini. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 216 pp.

This is an authorized exposition of Fascism, sponsored by Mussolini himself. The attitude of the leaders of the movement towards socialism, communism, Bolshevism, capitalism, nationalism and internationalism is fully set forth by Dr. Gorgolini, who is described by Mussolini as "a soldier of our cause from its beginning."

China: Yesterday and To-day. By Edward Thomas Williams. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 613 pp. Ill.

Professor Williams was formerly American Chargé d'Affaires at Peking, and recently Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs in our Department of State. In this book he deals with such topics as the status of woman, her position in the home, the present treatment of girl children, education, handicrafts, the clans, the tillers of the soil, the tradesmen, the professions, religions and foreign trade. In fact, the book is encyclopædic in its range and brought well up to date as a compendium of fact. It contrasts the new with the old.

India in Ferment. By Claude H. Van Tyne. D. Appleton and Company. 252 pp.

After a visit to India in 1922 Professor Van Tyne, making use of every opportunity to converse with native agitators and learn their points of view, came to the conclusion that Great Britain has "at least put India in the way of winning self-government for herself." Professor Van Tyne's book, "India in Ferment," analyzes the situation as he saw it.

American History

The Food Administration in Iowa. By Ivan L. Pollock. Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. Two volumes. 235 pp.; 237 pp.

The State Historical Society of Iowa continues to win the approval of contemporary readers and students in other States, and to merit the gratitude of posterity, by its publications covering the entire background of the State's settlement and progress. It is a veritable library that Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh has produced, since, almost thirty years ago, he began his work of writing, compiling and editing in the field of Iowa State history. The newest of these Iowa publications tells the story of the work of the Food Administration in Iowa; and this well-written and intelligent narrative forms a part of the series called, "Iowa Chronicles of the World War." These Iowa workers in the field of State history have learned by experience the advantages of gathering material before it has been hopelessly lost, and of giving the interpretation while not only the facts but also the reasons are fresh in memory

It would be hard to praise too extravagantly the work of a number of our State historical societies, eminent among them being those of such typical Northwestern States as Iowa and Wisconsin.

A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin. (Wisconsin Domesday Book: General Studies, Volume I.) By Joseph Schafer. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 212 pp. Ill.

Under the exceptionally wise direction of Dr. Lyman C. Draper in the formative period and of Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites in later years, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was brought to a position of leadership among like institutions. The society has now entered on an enterprise unique in its scope and in some ways more ambitious than anything heretofore attempted by a State historical society. This is nothing less than the compilation of a Wisconsin "Domesday Book"—a record of land titles town by town. Intensive studies of the rural towns of the State have now been in progress for

several years. After the data relating to twenty-five towns had been brought together for publication, it was seen that the material for each town could be treated in smaller compass, and thus the whole series published more economically, if there was a comprehensive sketch of the history of agriculture in the State to which on all general topics reference might be made instead of repeating such matter in a text pertaining to the individual towns. Dr. Joseph Schafer, the superintendent of the Society,

has prepared such a sketch which serves not only as a general introduction of the town studies of the "Domesday Book," but also as a sketch of the history of agriculture in the State. The project was an admirable one, and has been ably carried out. Dr. Schafer's book will make clear to many readers the plan of the "Domesday Book" as a whole, and will undoubtedly stimulate useful historical studies of like character in neighbor States as well as in Wisconsin.

Books of Travel and Observation

In Quest of El Dorado. By Stephen Graham. D. Appleton and Company. 333 pp.

In acquiring the material for this book, Mr. Stephen Graham followed a plan which has rarely if ever been adopted by British travelers from the Old World to the New. Wishing to approach as closely as possible to the original route of Columbus, he took passage in a Spanish ship from Cadiz bound for the Indies. After landing in Porto Rico, he visited in turn Haiti and Cuba, saw San Salvador, the first land Columbus found, and was also in the Bahamas. He then proceeded to New Orleans, Santa Fé and Panama, later visiting Mexico. Mr. Graham's racy style and descriptive powers have already become familiar to many American readers through his earlier books, "Europe—Whither Bound?" and "Tramping with a Poet in the Rockies."

Below the Snow Line. By Douglas W. Freshfield. E. P. Dutton and Company. 270 pp.

Even so experienced a mountain climber as the former president of the Alpine Club and Royal Geographical Society is not ashamed to admit that he has wandered as often below the snow line as above it, frequently with an enjoyment not less intense. In this book he brings together selections from old records of travel, chiefly memories of walks and climbs among the lesser ranges of the Old World—the mountains of the Riviera, Corsica, Italy, France, Bosnia and Algeria, with two raids into the remote wilds of Japan and Uganda.

Lands of the Thunderbolt: Sikkim, Chumbi and Bhutan. By the Earl of Ronaldshay. Houghton Mifflin Company. 267 pp. Ill.

The countries described in this book are situated in the Eastern Himalayas on the Northern borders of Bengal. Most of the excursions described by the Earl of Ronaldshay were in Sikkim, said to be the most mountainous country in the world. Within an area of less than 3,000 square miles, there are ranges rising from 700 to 28,000 feet. The higher altitudes are ice and rock and the lower a wilderness of forest ridges and precipitous gorges. Darjeeling, the hill station which was the starting point of the expeditions described in this book, is known to the natives as "The Place of the Thunderbolt."

Wandering in Northern China. By Harry A. Franck. The Century Company. 502 pp. Ill.

The title of Mr. Franck's latest book was well chosen. In telling what he saw in China, Mr.

Franck followed the leisurely method of his travels. He has set down the things that most interested him, often, as he says, things that others seem to have missed or considered unimportant, in the hope that some of them may also interest others. The illustrations consist of 171 unusual photographs by the author, with a map showing his route.

Among Pygmies and Gorillas: With the Swedish Zoological Expedition to Central Africa, 1921. By Prince William of Sweden. E. P. Dutton and Company. 296 pp. Ill.

This book gives an account of the recent Swedish zoological expedition to the heart of Africa in search of specimens of the rare mountain gorilla and other important objects. Prince William of Sweden led this expedition in the double capacity of experienced hunter and high official of his country. During the explorations made by these redoubtable Swedish naturalists nearly a thousand specimens of different African fauna were secured. The story, as told by Prince William, is entertaining on its own account, and at the same time important as a contribution to science.

Birds of the New York City Region. By Ludlow Griscom, Assistant Curator of Ornithology, American Museum of Natural History, New York. 400 pp. Six colored plates, 30 photographs, map.

This admirable little book answers completely and accurately three questions: What birds may be seen in the New York City region? Where may they be seen? When may they be seen? The region described extends from the Delaware River to Montauk Point, and from Staten Island to Peekskill, a large scale map showing the details. The introduction to the book follows the lines laid down by Mr. F. M. Chapman in a booklet published by the American Museum seventeen years ago, but long out of print. First comes a classification of all the birds of the region into Permanent Residents, Summer Residents, Transients, and so on. This is followed by a description of the birds to be seen during each month of the year, exactly as they are shown in one of the halls of the Museum, for the arrangement of which Mr. Ludlow Griscom is responsible. Then comes the main substance of the book, a detailed history of the individuality and occurrences of each bird, at seven or eight points within the region, special attention being given to Central Park, Long Beach and the Englewood districts, the most favorable places for seeing migrants, shore birds, and summer residents, respectively. For each bird, carefully recorded and verified dates

are given for the earliest and latest appearances on the spring and fall migrations, with the names of the observers, most of whom are members of the Linnean Society of New York, which meets fortnightly at the Museum of Natural History. The author's own observations began in 1896, when he was a small

boy; since 1907 he has been incessantly afield, making over 1250 field trips, which have taken him to every section of the area covered by this book. Every bird student will find this work indispensable; the better he knows birds, the more he will value this book.

Literature, Music and Art

American Nights Entertainment. By Grant Overton. D. Appleton & Co., George H. Doran Company, Doubleday, Page & Co., Charles Scribner's Sons. 414 pp.

Increased attention to books of the day has developed an interest in the personalities of the authors. This explains the appearance of a book devoted to present-day writers and published under the auspices of four leading houses. The men and women who make up this group are known chiefly as entertainers of the public—novelists, essay writers, poets—and hence the title of the book, "American Nights Entertainment." Mr. Grant Overton is responsible for the estimates and the opinions expressed in the book. Chapters are devoted to Galsworthy, Conrad, Harold Bell Wright, Edith Wharton, Booth Tarkington, Christopher Morley and many others.

Midwest Portraits: a Book of Memories and Friendships. By Harry Hansen. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 357 pp.

Mr. Hansen, who is literary editor of the Chicago *Daily News*, has sketched the portraits of a number of literary characters whose names are associated with the "Windy City." Robert Herrick, Edgar Lee Masters, Carl Sandburg, Ben Hecht and Sherwood Anderson are among his subjects. The book is full of delightful memories of men and women who at one time or another have made rendezvous at Chicago. Among these are some who, though not natives of the Middle West, have been influenced by the spirit of the region and in turn have left their own impress there.

Gods of Modern Grub Street. By A. St. John Adcock and E. O. Hoppé. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 326 pp. Ill.

Contemporary British authors are here characterized. Mr. Adcock gives his impressions of Thomas Hardy, Arnold Bennett, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, John Drinkwater, Jeffery Farnol, John Galsworthy, Sheila Kaye-Smith, Rudyard Kipling, William J. Locke, John Masefield, Alfred Noyes, E. Phillips Oppenheim, May Sinclair, Hugh Walpole, H. G. Wells, Israel Zangwill and as many others whose names are perhaps less familiar on this side of the Atlantic.

My Long Life in Music. By Leopold Auer. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 377 pp. Ill.

One of the year's most important books of memoirs. Professor Auer was born in Hungary and became a cosmopolitan, passing much of his life in Russia, in Paris, in London and finally in America.

He knew all the great musicians of his time, and in this book we find sketches of Brahms, the Rubinstein, Rossini, Von Bülow, Paderewski, Tchaikovsky, and of Professor Auer's famous violin pupils—Elman, Zimbalist, Seidel and others.

String Mastery. By Frederick H. Martens. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 358 pp. Ill.

This book is made up of talks with master violinists, violin players, and violin cellists. In these interviews the artists suggest the technique of artistic playing as based on their own personal experience.

The Early Northern Painters: Their Art and Times as Illustrated from Examples of Their Work in the National Gallery, London. By Mrs. C. R. Peers. Boston: The Medici Society, Ltd. 214 pp. Ill.

The leading Flemish, Dutch and German painters from the middle of the Fourteenth to the middle of the Sixteenth Century are represented in this book. It has been noted that there is a steady increase of the number of examples of the work of these men in American collections. For that reason the book should appeal to American readers especially.

Wonders of the Past: the Romance of Antiquity and Its Splendors. Edited by J. A. Hamerton. G. P. Putnam's Sons. In four volumes. Ill.

This work had been planned and partially written long before the sensational discovery of Tut-ankhamen's tomb, but the world-wide interest in that find makes the publication of the "Wonders of the Past" a timely enterprise. The contributions by leading archaeologists are in the main descriptive rather than historical. There is no attempt to follow a chronological arrangement. The subjects selected for inclusion are treated in an unrelated way. One may study here the marvels revealed by recent explorations of Central American ruins as well as the far better known records of Egypt's temples, tombs and monuments. The popular and interesting feature of the work as a whole is the elaborate scheme of illustration. There are two classes of pictures: photographs of existing objects and drawings and paintings of vanished cities and monuments based upon authoritative documents and fragmentary remains. These pictures are more effective than any form of text could possibly be in conveying the lessons of archaeology. When completed the four volumes will contain more than 1000 illustrations, including many full-page plates in color.

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